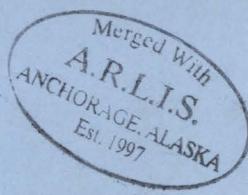


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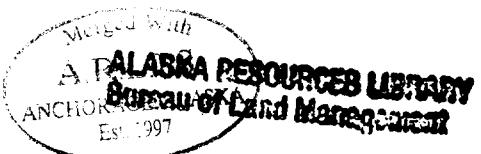


INDIANS, TRADERS AND BUREAUCRATS IN
THE UPPER TANANA DISTRICT : A HISTORY
OF THE TETLIN RESERVE.

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**Indians, Traders and Bureaucrats
in the Upper Tanana District:**

A History of the Tetlin Reserve

By

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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
I. Early Trails to the Upper Tanana District	3
II. John Hajdukovich and Upper Tanana Indians	58
III. The Tetlin Reserve Boundary	211

Introduction

For half a century the Tetlin Indian Reserve was a lightning rod of controversy. Its establishment in 1930 provoked a storm of protest over the efficacy of Indian reserves as a means to protect Indians from the harmful aspects of Western culture and at the same time sustain the Indians' subsistence lifestyle. While this controversy was virtually laid to rest with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the location of the Reserve boundaries continues to be a source of controversy. The dispute concerns the location of the western, eastern, and northwest segments of the boundary. The location of the western boundary, described in Executive Order No. 5365 as extending from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the old trail crossing of the Tok River, is a critical issue. Did the framers of the Executive Order mean the Valdez-Eagle trail or the Tanacross-Tetlin trail? The Tetlin Native Corporation maintains that it is the former trail; the Bureau of Land Management, the latter trail.

This report is an independent effort to help resolve the controversy over the location of the western boundary. Part 1 of the report is an historical overview of explorations and the development of trails to and within the Upper Tanana district. Mainly from the Klondike Gold Rush of 1897-98 to the Chisana

Gold Rush of 1913. Part 2 describes the activities of a fur trader named John Hajdukovich in the Upper Tanana district during the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the principal events leading up the establishment of the Reserve, and finally the efforts of the Upper Tanana Indians to obtain the benefits of the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1940s. Part 3 summarizes the attempts of the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to modify the Reserve boundaries and later to locate the boundaries as described in the Executive Order.

The report could not be completed without the assistance of many people. I thank the attorneys of the Bureau of Land Management, State of Alaska, and the Tetlin Native Corporation for the opportunity to complete the report; Renee M. Jaussaud of the National Archives for researching certain files for me; Dr. Gary Stein of the State of Alaska for providing me with documents from certain files in the National Archives and the Federal Records Center in Washington state; and Edith Kevan, Shelly Thompson, Cindi Eichholz, Susie Bohna, and Mandy Olund of the Bureau of Land Management's Document Processing Section for their extraordinary efforts in seeing that the report was completed on time. I specially thank Mandy Olund for her perseverance in deciphering my scrawls and repeatedly typing drafts. It goes without saying that any errors in facts or interpretation are my own.

PART ONE
EARLY TRAILS TO THE UPPER TANANA DISTRICT

Long before the first white men entered the district, the Upper Tanana Indians obtained European trade goods through intermediaries on the Copper, lower Tanana, and Yukon rivers, and perhaps some even made the long journey to the posts of the Russian and French-Canadian fur traders. Within a decade after reaching the southern coast of Alaska in 1783, Russian fur traders established several posts in Prince William Sound, the most important being Fort Konstantin and Elena (Nuchek) on Hinchinbrook Island. The Russians traded primarily with the coastal Indians, but never ceased in attempting to extend their influence to inland Indians. At least seven expeditions were sent into the Copper River basin between the years 1794 to 1848. Most were cut short by armed conflicts with the fierce Copper River Indians. The Russians in the Serebrenikov expedition of 1848, for example, were murdered by Indians somewhere in the vicinity of Batzulnetas on the upper Copper River. Still the Russians persisted. With time they finally developed friendly relations with the Indians, and in 1858 were allowed to establish a small post known as Mednovsk odinochka near the junction of the Copper and Chitina rivers.

In locating a post on the Copper River, the Russian American Company may have hoped to check the growing influence of the Hudson Bay Company among the Yukon and Tanana Indians. The Russians founded a post at Nulato on the lower Yukon River as early as 1838, but owing to Indian depredations were unable to continue trade there on a regular basis until the 1850s. In the meantime, the Hudson Bay Company moved into the Yukon by way of the Porcupine River. In 1847, the company established Fort Yukon near the mouth of the Porcupine River, and in the following year founded Fort Selkirk near the mouth of the Pelly River. The Chilkat Indians, who controlled the various passes from the head of Lynn Canal to the Upper Yukon and acted as middlemen for the Yukon and Tanana Indians with traders in southeast Alaska, razed Fort Selkirk three years later, but not before the French-Canadian traders made contact with the Tanana Indians. Subsequently, both the Russian and French-Canadian traders carried on a flourishing business with the Yukon and Tanana Indians at Nulato and Fort Yukon, and each year made trips to Nuklukayet at the mouth of the Tanana River for the purpose of trade with the Tanana Indians. 1/

After the sale of the Alaska to the United States in 1867, American traders quickly moved into the Yukon River basin and Prince William Sound to occupy the former Russian trading posts. The Americans did not establish a post on the Copper

River, although in the early 1880s George Holt of the Alaska Commercial Company was sent into the region to investigate the prospects. On the Yukon River, however, the traders were intent in dominating the fur trade. A new post called Fort Adams was established at the mouth of the Tanana River, and a short while later the traders occupied Fort Yukon. During the 1870s the traders, many of them agents of the Alaska Commercial Company, established other posts on the Yukon River. One of the most important here was Fort Reliance, which was founded in 1874 about six miles below present-day Dawson on the Yukon River.

The founding of Fort Reliance is important in the history of the Upper Tanana district, for it was at this post that the Upper Tanana Indians definitely traded with white men and from which place prospectors were to penetrate the district. From time to time agents of the Alaska Commercial Company went on prospecting journeys to the tributaries of the Yukon River. In 1873, Arthur Harper and Frederick Hart prospected the Stewart and White River countries. They failed to find gold on Stewart River, which later became the scene of a small gold rush; and though more successful on White River, one of several water routes to the Upper Tanana, they did not locate paying deposits. News of these and other discoveries on the Yukon River reached the Pacific coast, and so beginning in the early

1870s small prospecting parties from the declining Cassiar mining camps crossed Chilkoot Pass at the head of Lynn Canal to the Upper Yukon River. Supplied from Fort Reliance, the prospectors scattered throughout the region, some of them making their way into the Upper Tanana district. Upon learning that Tanana Indians traded at Fort Reliance, Michael E. Hess made a journey into the district in the winter of 1885-86; other than that a good Indian trail existed from the Tanana River to Fort Reliance, he reported little about his experiences in the district. 2/

Unknown to Hess at that time, the Upper Tanana Indians received another white visitor in 1885, this one being an Army officer. Recent developments in Alaska attracted the interest of certain high officers in the Army who saw the possibility of bringing glory to the service by undertaking explorations in the territory. In 1883, Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka crossed Chilkoot Pass to the head of the Yukon River and descended that river to its mouth in a raft. He produced the first map of the entire Yukon River, and did much to popularize the territory in several books. A year later Lieutenant William R. Abercrombie led an expedition up the Copper River with hopes of locating a pass over the Alaska Range to the Tanana and Yukon rivers. He failed in his mission, finding the Copper River extremely dangerous for navigation, but succeeded nevertheless in making

a survey of the Copper River Delta and in locating a possible portage route into the interior by way of Valdez Bay. 3/ One year later, in 1885, Lieutenant Henry T. Allen reached the Copper River mouth to attempt an ascent of the river to its head, this time in the winter.

With Sergeant Cady Robertson and Private Fred W. Fickett, Allen soon reached Taral where he met Chief Nicolai and a half-starved prospector named John Bremner who had spent the winter there. After exploring the Chitina River, Allen returned to the Copper River and began the long journey over an old Indian trail to the Tanana River with a crippled Indian as guide. In early June they reached Batzulnetas where they found Indians from Lake Suslota and the Tanana River patiently awaiting the first salmon run of the season. From these Indians Allen learned of the existence of trails from Batzulnetas to the head of Nabesna River and to the Tanana River by way of Mentasta Lake. One Indian, who claimed to have visited Fort Reliance, provided Allen with a crude map of the Tanana and Yukon rivers.

On June 4, Allen left Batzulnetas with four Indian guides for Lake Suslota where a small village was located. On the following day they left that village and crossed Suslota Pass to the headwaters of the Little Tok River. Allen was inclined to follow the Little Tok and Tok rivers to the Tanana River.

but taking the advice of his Indian guides who claimed that the white men would starve to death before reaching the Tanana River, Allen continued the journey in a northeast direction. It is not certain as to which pass the Allen party took from the Little Tok Valley to the Tanana River. About ten miles from their crossing of the Little Tok River, the Allen party headed easterly for a day, and then resumed a northeasterly course. Making a steep ascent to "a very short and narrow 'divide', 4,500 feet above sea level with bold, barren bluffs on each side," Allen obtained his first view of the extensive lake-studded Tanana Valley. It was a "grand sight," Allen wrote. "Fatigue and hunger were for the first time forgotten in the great joy at finding our greatest obstacles overcome." Descending the steep declivity, the men soon reached timberline and made camp, having traveled about fourteen miles in the all-night march.

Breaking camp in the afternoon of June 9, ready to march all night, the men began the final leg of their journey to Nandell's. In the morning of June 10 they climbed a low hill on the flats and observed the drainage to which the lakes belonged. Finally, at three in the morning they reached Nandell's where the entire village of forty men, twenty-eight women, and eighteen children turned out to welcome the bedraggled party with a great firing of guns.

The village of Nandell, now known as Last Tetlin, was situated on a small, clear, lake-fed stream. The village consisted of four large houses, which appeared to have been occupied for many years, given the scarcity of timber for firewood in the vicinity and the existence of well-worn trails nearby.

Although the Indians were almost without exception suffering from severe coughs and what Allen referred to as "pulmonary troubles," they were in a far better condition than the Copper River Indians. In fact, some of the children were able to repeat the alphabet, having been instructed by the Anglican missionary Vincent C. Sims. 4/ Most of the men had been to Fort Reliance one or more times for trading purposes. The Indians generally took one of two routes to the upper Yukon River. From the Tanana River the Indians portaged to a tributary of the White River, and descended that stream, the White River, and the Yukon River in skin boats. The other route was an overland trail which headed northeasterly to the Yukon River; the return trip to the Tanana River was always by this route. In addition, Allen learned of the existence of a northwesterly-bearing trail from Last Tetlin to Lake Mansfield where connection was made with the trail to Lake Mentasta.

For a short time, Allen considered sending three of his men over the portage to Fort Reliance, but in view of the fact that his men were exhausted, that both Robertson and Bremner were

suffering from scurvy, and that the party lacked adequate provisions, Allen decided to descend the Tanana River to its mouth as quickly as possible and there obtain additional supplies. In a council with the Indians he learned that a raft journey down the Tanana to the Yukon River would require "two moons" or twenty days in a skin boat. Due to rapids and snags in the river, the trip was dangerous. Allen could not persuade any of the Indians to accompany him to the Yukon River. They would only go as far as the next village downriver, two days distant by river.

Having made the decision to descend the Tanana River, Allen and his men on June 12 were guided by a medicine man to Tetling (now Tetlin), about eleven miles distant by trail. This stretch of the journey was very pleasant, recalled Allen. The trail led through a country of small lakes and high grass, which he characterized as "more pastoral in its nature than in any part of the Territory." Few mosquitoes and gnats plagued the men on the trail, presumably because the Indians had burned the surrounding vegetation.

At Tetling, a small village on a deep, clear stream inhabited by six men, four women, and seven children, Allen arranged for the construction of a large boat of caribou skins and continued trading money and every garment and article that could be

spared for meat and fish. At six in the morning of June 14, the white men left Tetling with two Indians and three dogs on board the boat. After a run of two and one-half hours down the meandering river, they reached the muddy and swift Tanana River. Passing the mouth of the Tokai River (Tok River) early in the morning of June 15, the men reached the foot of the trail to Lake Mentasta late that afternoon. Here they found Kheeltat's caches, and, as he promised, Allen released his two Indian guides, who returned to Nandell by way of an overland trail. Shortly thereafter, Allen and his party floated downstream a distance of about four miles and made camp above a muddy tributary of the Tanana River.

Upon the advice of Nandell, who said that the village had recently suffered many deaths, Allen intended to pass quietly and quickly through the territory of Kheeltat, whose village was located on Mansfield Lake. However, a subchief named Deshaddy from Nandell preceded Allen down the Tanana River and informed Kheeltat of the white visitors. Kheeltat soon sent two men down the river in canoes to Allen's camp. Persuaded to visit Kheeltat, Allen and Fickett were led overland to the village. Reaching the village in a state of exhaustion, the men met briefly and ominously with the chief before falling asleep. When they awoke, they found twenty-six men and four women in the chief's house. Much to Allen's relief, the

Indians only wanted medicine, a request Allen quickly filled with a number of harmless pills. After selling Allen a few furs and describing river conditions on the Tanana, Kheeltat took Allen and Fickett to the river by canoe, promising to meet them later in the year on the upper Yukon River. Kheeltat was then preparing to make a journey to Arthur Harper's trading post on or near Fetutlin on the Yukon River. Evidently there was more than one route, for Allen learned that one was a water route that took six days to traverse.

With his return to camp, Allen and his men resumed their journey down the Tanana River, and ultimately the Yukon and Koyukuk rivers. As historian Morgan B. Sherwood wrote, the Allen expedition "was an incredible achievement that deserves to be ranked with the great explorations of North America." 6/ Allen put his powers of observation to the fullest test, producing in 1887 the first reliable maps of the Tanana and Koyukuk rivers which also illustrated the location of trading posts, villages, and trails. In the Upper Tanana district, he depicted not only his own route from the upper Copper River to the Tanana River, but also the various trails from the Tanana River to the Yukon River, the Mentasta Pass Trail, and the Last Tetlin-Kheeltat Trail. 7/

About a year after Allen passed through the upper Tanana district, a prospector named Howard Franklin discovered gold near the mouth of Fortymile River. A stampede to the river soon followed, and other strikes were made on tributaries of the river for the next decade. News of these strikes attracted a great many prospectors to the Upper Yukon district, with the result that systematic prospecting began on White River and the tributaries of Birch Creek. Gold was discovered on Birch Creek in the summer of 1893, resulting in a stampede from the Fortymile district to Birch Creek and the founding of Circle City. Both the Fortymile and the Birch Creek districts remained producers well into the twentieth century.

In the mad search for gold, prospectors on the Yukon doubtlessly crossed the divides at the head of Fortymile River, Birch Creek, and White River to explore the Tanana basin. In 1890, E.H. Wells with three men including an Indian ascended the Fortymile River to its head, crossed the divide to Lake Mansfield, and thence to Tanana River. Wells intended to follow the Mentasta Pass Trail to the Upper Copper district in an effort to reach the coast, but the lack of provisions forced him to return to the Tanana River after having traveled some distance up the Tok River valley. The men then descended the Tanana River to the Yukon. In 1891, Frederick Schwatka and Charles W. Hayes set out to explore the region north of the

St. Elias Mountains. Ascending White River, they encountered less than a dozen prospectors on the river. Hayes, Schwatka, and a prospector named Mark Russell with seven Indians succeeded in making their way overland from White River to the Upper Chitina River by way of Skolai Pass. 8/

When in 1897 steamers Excelsior and Portland arrived in San Francisco and Seattle, respectively, with a "ton of gold" from the Klondike River in Canada, the stream of prospectors into the upper Yukon district was suddenly transformed into a raging torrent. Their imaginations inflamed by reports of untold riches in Alaska, thousands of people crowded into the offices of steamship companies in Seattle, Vancouver, and San Francisco for passage to the new Eldorado. They chartered or purchased boats of every size and shape for the voyage to Alaska. Those who managed to escape the turbulent waters and uncharted rocks of Southeast Alaska finally arrived at the ancient Indian trails which led to Interior Alaska and thence to the Klondike River in Canada. Others went to St. Michael and ascended the Yukon River in steamboats to the new mining camp of Dawson.

The Upper Tanana district received much of the overflow of the Klondike Gold Rush. By early summer of 1898, more than three thousand people were landed at the new town of Valdez and were well on their way into the interior by way of Valdez Glacier.

Once across the glacier, the prospectors followed or descended Klutina River to the Copper River where a settlement called Copper Center was founded. At that place they chose between an old Indian trail and the B.F. Millard Trail to Mentasta Pass, where they connected with a trail to the Fortymile district and the Yukon River. Both trails were not mapped; both led over extremely difficult terrain of tundra, swamp, brush, swift and deep streams, ravines filled with boulders, through a country mostly inhabited by mosquitoes and gnats ready to drive the unprepared traveler to the point of madness. Rather than brave the wilderness, hundreds of weary prospectors turned back to Valdez, broke in spirit and money, steeped in disappointment and anger over the fact that the country was advertised before it was tested. Nevertheless, many continued the long journey, stopping frequently to prospect the many creeks en route. By the fall of 1898, several thousand people were scattered along the trails from Copper Center to Mentasta Pass and beyond, building cabins, hunting game, chopping firewood, and otherwise preparing for the winter.

Almost from the very beginning of the Klondike Gold Rush, the Geological Survey and the Army were exploring the Copper River and Tanana River basins, and preparing topographic and geologic maps of the regions. The Peters expedition of 1898 and the work of Captain William R. Abercrombie in the Copper River

basin in the same year, contributed much to geographic knowledge.

On April 11, 1898 a Geological Survey party landed at Skagway with instructions to make a reconnaissance of the lower White River and as much of the Tanana River as time would permit. The party consisted of William J. Peters, topographer; Alfred H. Brooks, geologist; and Charles Ray, H.B. Baker, L.D. Gardiner, and A.R. Airs, camp hands. Crossing White Pass, the men made their way to Selkirk, where they hoped to find a guide and information about the White and Tanana River basins. They were unsuccessful. They were told that the Tanana Indians were warlike people, that White River was not suitable for navigation, and that the portage to the Tanana River ranged in length from twenty to one hundred miles.

On June 8, the Survey party began the difficult journey up the swift and murky White River in three canoes, each loaded with about nine hundred pounds of provisions and equipment. More than a month later, they reached the mouth of Snag River, and ascending that river eventually located a portage trail from the river to Mirror Creek, a tributary of Chisana River. After three days of backbreaking work in crossing five miles of a flat and swampy area, the men finally reached Chisana River on August 1.

Upon reaching the headwaters of the Tanana River, the Survey party had less than one month's provisions left, forcing them to make a hurried trip down the Tanana River. Contrary to rumors, they found the river to be easy for navigation. On August 11 they reached the crossing of the so-called Fortymile and Mentasta Trail where they met a party of prospectors from the Copper River country as well as a group of Indians, who proved to be anything but warlike. Owing to the swift current, the party made rapid progress down the river, making thirty to fifty miles a day. In late August, they reached the lower reaches of the Tanana River where, about one hundred miles above the mouth of the river, they met a steamboat, the second to have ascended the river. On September 1 they reached the trading post called Weare at the mouth of the Tanana River and obtained passage on a steamboat to St. Michael.

Publishing the results of the reconnaissance in 1900, Brooks estimated that one hundred prospectors visited different parts of the Tanana basin during the summer of 1898. About one-third of this number probably spent the winter there. Most of them confined their explorations to the Tanana River and its tributaries west of the Fortymile trail, but several were said to have pushed on to the head of the river where they discovered deposits of copper. 9/

Most of the prospectors reached the Tanana basin by way of the Fortymile Trail from the Fortymile River or the Copper River. From the Mosquito Fork of the Fortymile River, where the Indian village of Kechumstuk was situated at the head of small boat navigation, it was possible to take a good trail to Mansfield Village and, but eight miles distant from Mansfield village, the Tanana River about halfway between the Tok and Robertson rivers. Brooks estimated the distance from the navigable Fortymile River to the Tanana River to be fifty miles. From the Copper River it was possible to reach the Tanana River by way of Suslota Pass or Mentasta Pass, which was the lower of the two. Once over Suslota Pass, prospectors made their way to Tok River and usually descended that river in rafts. At least one prospecting party crossed the mountains from the new strike on Chistochina River to Robertson River, and followed that stream to the Tanana River. 10/

About the same time that the Survey party landed at Skagway, a detachment of soldiers under Captain William R. Abercrombie was landed at Valdez on steamer Valencia. The detachment was directed to provide assistance to lost, destitute, and demoralized stampeders, explore and map the Copper River basin for trail and railroad routes, and collect information about the Indians, wildlife, flora, geological formations, and any other information that may be useful to the development of

Alaska. Abercrombie established a military cantonment, and then sent four exploring parties into the Copper River basin.

Two of these parties also were to explore the upper Tanana district. Himself leading a party across Valdez Glacier to the Copper River, Abercrombie followed the Fortymile trail to Mentasta village. He then continued to Little Tok River, which he called the East Branch of Tok River, and followed that stream to its head where he found three passes to the Tanana River basin. One of these passes, he learned from Indians, was practicable for travel to the Fortymile country. 11/

More important was the expedition of Lieutenant P.G. Lowe, the only military party in 1898 to follow the Fortymile Trail to the Yukon River. Reaching Sanford River on August 6, they crossed that river and proceeded to Boulder Creek and Slana River, where they camped on August 21 about sixteen miles from its mouth. They then went to "John's House" on Mentasta Creek, and on August 26 reached the summit of Meiklejohn Pass by way of Trail Creek. Crossing the pass, the men followed Tetlin River to Tetlin Lake and visited Tetlin village for a short while. They continued on to the Tanana River, and then made their way over the hills to Dennison Fork of the Fortymile River. Following that stream to its mouth, and thence to Moose Creek, they purchased a boat and descended the Fortymile to the Yukon. 12/

Along with the military explorations and the maps that resulted, the most important achievement of the Army at Valdez in 1898 was the location and improvement of an alternative route to Copper Center, one that avoided the glaciers and passed through a wooded area. Abercrombie had a small party at work on the trail through Keystone Canyon in the fall of 1898. Much more needed to be done on the trail before it was practicable for travel. Thus, in his report of 1899, Abercrombie recommended that the Army continue explorations in Alaska, that a military trail be constructed from Valdez to the new mining camps on the Yukon River, and that relay stations be established on the trail. Noting that the prospectors had voluntarily contributed \$3.7 million in hard money and time to establish "an all-American route" to Interior Alaska. Abercrombie declared that the Valdez-Eagle trail would prove to be "the most practicable route for opening up to settlement the remnant of our frontier, in the development of which it has been the uniform policy of the War Department to go hand in hand, as it were, with the pioneer." 13/

Aware of the implications behind the construction of the White Pass and Yukon Railway, which, when completed, would control much of the flow of American trade into Alaska, and considering too the sensitive negotiations with Canada over the location of the International Boundary, the War Department did not ignore

Abercrombie's recommendations that an all-American trail be constructed from Valdez to Eagle, thereby connecting the navigable waters of Interior Alaska with an ice-free port. Thus, in early spring of 1899, the War Department ordered two large expeditions to Alaska. Under the command of Captain Edwin F. Glenn, the Cooks Inlet Exploring Expedition was instructed to explore and map routes from Passage Canal to Turnagain Arm, and from the Susitna River to the Tanana River. The Copper River Expedition under Captain Abercrombie was to establish a military camp and depot at Valdez; locate and construct a military road to Eagle on the Yukon River; and explore and map as much of the area adjacent to the projected road as was possible. 14/

Trail construction during the summer of 1899 was directed by Lieutenant Walter C. Babcock. Enlisted men with previous experience in trail and railroad construction work in Colorado and Wyoming, as well as destitute prospectors, began work on the trail at the entrance to Keystone Canyon in April. Work progressed rapidly; so that by the close of the season, the trail extended to a point near Copper Center. 15/

The Copper River Exploring Expedition conducted few explorations in the summer of 1899. Only one party was sent over the Fortymile Trail. A small party consisting of John F.

Rice, quartermaster's clerk, Edwin Wood, packer, Edwin Cashman, cook, and John Weiler, with five pack and two saddle horses made the trip to investigate conditions on the trail. Post office inspector C.L. Wayland accompanied the party to establish post offices at the mining camps on the route. Arriving at Lake Mentasta in early July, the men found about twenty prospectors and three Tetlin Indians there. From these Indians, Rice learned that all but two of the Mentasta Indians had died during the winter and that the survivors had joined the Kechumstuk Indians. The Tetlin Indians had journeyed to the lake to verify the report and if true, determine whether they could obtain a winter's supply of fish. Rice noted that the Indians were heavily armed and upon asking them the reason, the Indians replied that "they had no right in this section of the country and were prepared to defend themselves if necessary." 16/

Employing one of the Indians to guide them to the Fortymile Trail, the Rice party left Mentasta Lake on July 12 for the headwaters of Tok River by way of Mentasta Pass. Crossing Tok River on a raft, the men then followed the river through a dense forest before turning northwest to travel some twenty-five miles over "the levelest, as well as the dryest, country in Alaska." Upon reaching the Tanana River at a point later known as Tanana Crossing, the party crossed the river in

a raft and then proceeded to Lake Mansfield, where they arrived on July 18. Ten days later the party reached Eagle. 17/

On August 9, Rice left Eagle for Valdez. Somewhere on the trail between the villages of Mansfield and Kechumstuk, he met Andrew Holman, who had the contract to carry mail from Valdez to Eagle, establishing mail stations along the trail. Rice eventually reached Valdez on September 11. 18/

Not long after the Rice party entered Mentasta Pass, topographer C.E. Griffiths of the Cooks Inlet Exploring Expedition reached Mentasta Lake from Knik on Cook Inlet and Chesna on the head of Chistochina River. From the mining camp of Chesna Griffiths traveled overland to the Slana River where he found the camp of a group of prospectors from Dawson, Minnesota. 19/ He then headed north to enter the valley of the Little Tok River evidently by way of Suslota Pass. Following that stream he struck the Fortymile Trail on July 30 just across the mouth of the Little Tok River, and proceeded down the Tok River through a heavily timbered area to the lowlands which began about eight miles from the Tanana River. This section was, he wrote, "as level as a floor." He saw many old stampeders' camps along the Tok River as well as quantities of abandoned paraphanalia, such as clothing. On August 2, they ferried their goods across the Tanana River, and soon after met

a party of prospectors from the head of Nabesna River. Two members of this party, W.J. McGee of Pueblo, Colorado and H.S. Conger of Mora, Minnesota, who was suffering from scurvy and unable to walk much, decided to accompany Griffiths to Eagle. On August 3, Griffiths reached Mansfield Village, then inhabited by about sixty-five Indians. They continued on to Eagle without mishap. 20/

In the spring of 1899, the Geological Survey also organized another exploring expedition to the Upper Tanana district, this one to locate a route from Pyramid Harbor on Lynn Canal to Eagle City by way of the headwaters of the White and Tanana rivers. The expedition consisted of William J. Peters, topographer; Alfred H. Brooks, geologist; Gastrow S. Phillip, topographic assistant; and Thomas M. Hunt, Ed Brown, and Joseph Cahill, camp hands. Assembling at Pyramid Harbor on May 21, the Survey party followed the route of Jack Dalton and Henry Bratnober who in 1898 traveled overland to the headwaters of the White River to prospect for copper. On August 6, the party reached Klutlan Glacier in the Wrangell Mountains and spent several days there examining copper outcrops on Kletsan Creek, a tributary of the White River. In the vicinity they met two prospectors named E.J. Cooper and H.A. Hammond who had reached the area with a pack train by taking an Indian trail from the upper Copper River. About a week later the Survey party reached the White River.

Following that river to its headwaters, they then headed west to the Chisana and Nabesna rivers. While on the upper White River, they met a band of about twenty Indians from the Copper River who were on a hunting expedition. Perhaps it was from these Indians that Brooks learned that the Army had established a post at Mentasta Pass. 21/ Following Nabesna River downstream for about twenty miles, the Survey party then struck a northwesterly course across the lowlands to reach the Tanana River near the mouth of Tetlin River on September 1. Taking the next few days to build a boat, they ferried their outfits across the Tanana River, and then took the trail to Eagle where they arrived on September 16.

In his hastily written account of the journey, Brooks reported that the upper Tanana and Upper White rivers were "worthy of careful investigation by the prospector and the capitalist." The best route to the head of the White and Tanana rivers, he believed, was by way of the Fortymile or Eagle trail and the Batzulnetas trail. It was possible, but more difficult, to take the Survey party's route from Tetlin River to the Nabesna River. 22/

As a result of the Army and Geological Survey expeditions of 1898-99, most of the Copper, Tanana, and White River valleys were mapped. This information was scattered in various

publications. In 1902, recognizing the development of mines in the Chitina River valley, and on the upper Nabesna, Chisana, and Chistochina rivers, the Geological Survey spent more than half of its Alaska appropriation in dispatching two well-equipped parties to the region. Their mission was to extend previous surveys until a practically complete map of the Copper River basin and the contiguous regions were made. The Survey parties included Walter C. Mendenhall, Frank C. Schrader, and D.C. Witherspoon.

In their report of 1903, Mendenhall and Schrader described the various routes in the Wrangell Mountains and illustrated these routes in their "Map of Mount Wrangell District, Alaska." They reported the principal routes to be the Mentasta Pass trail, the Batzulnetas-Lake Suslota-Suslota Pass-Little Tok River trail, the Sikonsina Pass trail, the Gillette Pass trail, the Meiklejohn Pass trail, and the Tetlin River trail. 23/

The Survey expedition of 1902 was the last one of an exploring nature sent into the Upper Copper and Tanana rivers. Other Survey expeditions were to be sent into the region in later years, but these were to report upon mineral discoveries and to carry on geological investigations. Their purpose was thus to facilitate the development of the mining industry.

While many gold discoveries were made in Alaska by the Klondike stampedes, none proved to be as important as the Nome strike on Seward Peninsula in ushering in the modern economic development of Alaska. The Nome gold rush of 1899-1900 brought to the forefront the inadequacies of Alaskan transportation and communication facilities. During the short summer season, steamships from the ports of Seattle and San Francisco plied the waters of Bering Sea to Nome and St. Michael, where connections were made with steamboats operating on the Yukon River and its tributaries. Other steamships made their way through the Inside Passage to Skagway, the tidewater terminal of the White Pass and Yukon Railway. This narrow-gauge railroad, completed in 1900, extended to Whitehorse, the ordinary head of steamboat navigation on the Yukon River. Unlike St. Michael and Nome, Skagway was accessible throughout the year, permitting shippers to send equipment and supplies to Whitehorse for trans-shipment down the Yukon River with the opening of navigation.

The winters left the mining camps on Seward Peninsula isolated. None had ready access to Whitehorse during the winter months, and were thus forced to wait until summer before receiving the supplies and heavy equipment so crucial for a successful mining operation during the short summer seasons. Great distances separated the mining camps from the railroad

terminal, which made for high tariffs. Aside from these considerations, miners in Alaska were required to pay duties on goods crossing the international boundary, thereby adding to the cost of mining. As a result, a great public cry for the development of an all-American route to Interior Alaska was heard in Washington, D.C.

The need for communication and transportation facilities in Alaska was not unrecognized in Congress. As the War Department established a number of military posts at Nome (Fort Davis), St. Michael (Fort St. Michael), Tanana (Fort Gibbon), Eagle (Fort Egbert), and Valdez (Fort Liscum) during the years 1899 and 1900, Congress appropriated in May 1900, \$450,550 for the construction of a Washington-Alaska Military Cable and Telegraph System (WAMCATS) and \$100,000 for the construction of military roads, trails and bridges. When completed, the telegraph system would provide large mining camps from Nome to Eagle and Valdez communication with the continental United States.

Construction of the telegraph system was divided into four major sections. The St. Michael-Tanana line was completed in the summer of 1901; the Tanana-Rampart line in January 1902; the Tanana-Eagle line via Goodpaster River in June 1903; and the Valdez-Eagle line in August 1902. Construction of the

Valdez-Eagle line, the most important section in the system as it linked the line in Interior Alaska with submarine cables extending to southeast Alaska towns and the west coast of the United States, proceeded from Valdez and Eagle simultaneously.

Most of the line was constructed from Valdez under the direction of Lieutenant George C. Burnell. Distributing construction material along the Fortymile trail during the winter months, and erecting the poles and line in the summer, Burnell's men succeeding in constructing the line as far as Chistochina by the fall of 1901. For a time there was some question as to what route the line should follow over the mountains. Captain William R. Abercrombie, then in charge of construction of the military trail, initially decided upon Mentasta Pass as the route of the line, and then have the line cross the Tanana River near the mouth of Tetlin River. He wrote to Captain Charles S. Farnsworth, the commanding officer at Fort Egbert, requesting information about the country between the Tanana River and Eagle. Replying in January 1901, Farnsworth described the route from Eagle to the Tanana River as told to him by two or three men at Eagle who had gone over the trail. As far as the crossing of the Tanana River was concerned, he wrote, "Mail carriers seem to think the best place to cross the Tanana River is about 40 miles below Tetling and it looks to me that crossing would be more convenient for

your road if I understand you rightly that it will go through Mentasta Pass. Trail and line would be located near Lake Mansfield." Farnsworth subsequently left Eagle to take the Fortymile trail as far as the Kechumstuk Hills. Upon his return he wrote another letter to Abercrombie, urging him to locate the line near Lake Mansfield. He estimated that the lake was only two or three miles from the Tanana River, adding that "several persons have informed me that the crossing of the Tanana at Lake Mansfield is an easy one and that it is the crossing most frequently used by the Indians." There was a "good easy trail" from Mentasta to the Mansfield crossing of the Tanana River. According to several men, "the Tetling crossing would take the line from 40 to 60 miles out of the shortest route from here to Mentasta Pass." 24/

Taking Farnsworth's advice, Abercrombie made a trip to the Tanana River in the summer of 1901 to inspect the Mansfield crossing. Upon his return to Valdez, he reported to Major Wilds P. Richardson, Adjutant General of the Department of Alaska, that he had selected a crossing for the Trans-Alaska Military Road at an island formed by the Tanana and Little Tanana rivers about eight miles from Mansfield Lake. This island he named Farnsworth Island, in recognition of Farnsworth's contribution in locating the crossing of the Tanana River for the military telegraph line and trail. 25/

Once the site of the Tanana River crossing was located, soldiers pushed hard to extend the line to the river. By the fall of 1901, the Fort Egbert garrison had constructed only about thirty-five miles of line south of Eagle. In early January 1902, however, the able and ambitious Lieutenant William Mitchell arrived at Fort Egbert to take charge of the telegraph construction project. By early April, Mitchell had the line extended to a point within forty miles of the Tanana River. In late July and early August, Burnell's men constructed the line in Mentasta Pass and down the Tok River valley. On Sunday, August 24, 1902, Burnell and Mitchell met at the Tanana River crossing, popularly known as Tanana Crossing (now Tanacross), thereby completing the 420-mile line from Fort Liscum to Fort Egbert. Both Eagle and Valdez now had the means to communicate with the United States. 26/

In the meantime, Abercrombie succeeded in pushing a road up the Copper River valley. In 1900 Abercrombie and Lieutenant W.C. Babcock were assigned to the Fort Liscum garrison with instructions to survey a Trans-Alaska Military Road from Valdez to Fort Egbert. In the first year of construction the men extended the road as far as Tazlina River, constructed a bridge across Klutina River, and established ferry service at the major rivers between Copper Center and Chistochina, about 170 miles from Valdez. Congress having extended the

appropriation of 1900 for another year, Abercrombie returned to Alaska and extended the road to Chistochina, located the route from Chistochina to the Tanana River, and constructed a pack trail six feet wide to the Tanana River. In his report of August 1901, he described the route as follows:

As now located the road crosses the Chistochena five miles above its mouth paralleling the Copper some two miles back to the foothills of the main range dividing the Copper and Tanana where it deflects to the north, crossing the Chulchesna and passing through a low divide enters the Painted Pass emerging on the Slahna at Lake Mentasta, skirting which the Mentasta Pass is entered, reaching the headwaters of the Tok, that river is followed for some forty miles down to the Tanana Valley where the trail leaves the Tok taking a Northwest course for fifteen miles to Farnsworth Island; crossing the Tanana there is a short piece of unlocated ground, to the head of Bullion Creek

. . . . 27/

Abercrombie estimated that he would have the pack trail to the Tanana River completed by late September or early October. He believed that the Army would have to maintain the trail for at least two years, and proposed to prepare estimates for the work. Apparently his request was not approved, despite a

personal appeal to the War Department to expend \$50,000 in addition to the \$20,000 left over from the original appropriation for the road construction project. 28/

With the completion of the Valdez-Eagle telegraph line and trail, considerable public pressure developed for the construction of a wagon road over the route. Residents of Valdez were naturally vocal in support of a Valdez-Eagle road. Prospectors and miners working the areas tributary to the trail, such as Slate Creek, the Chitina River valley, the upper Nabesna River, and of course, the Forty-mile River country, depended upon the trail to transport supplies and equipment to their workings. Numerous plans for the construction of a railroad over the route were much discussed. The Army used the trail to supply the numerous telegraph stations along the line. And finally the trail had proved itself to be a practicable all-American route for the transportation of mail.

The Post Office Department awarded a contract to Richard Chilcoot, partner in the firm Baineson and Chilcoot, General Shipping Agents, of Seattle, in the spring of 1899. Beginning on October 1, 1899, sub-contractor Andrew Holman began carrying the mail, not more than one hundred pounds each trip, from Valdez to Circle by way of Copper Center, Mentasta Pass, and Eagle. In the winter of 1900-01, sub-contractors James and

Oscar Fish made improvements to the mail service, so that the time for the trip was reduced to twenty days one way. Some carriers succeeding in making the trip from Valdez to Eagle in twelve or thirteen days, approximately equal to the time required on the Skagway-Eagle run.

In March 1902, Oscar Fish was awarded a four-year contract for the delivery of mail from Valdez to Eagle, which included mail for Nome. He was to make two trips a month, or twenty-four trips each year, by dogsled, each time carrying not more than three hundred pounds of mail. He was to receive \$35,000, making him the best paid carrier in the world. Oscar Fish subsequently sublet the mail contract to James Fish and Company, which planned to establish a stage line from Valdez to the Yukon River. The mail was carried over the route in nine relays. Stations with dogs and horses were located about every sixty miles; and shelter cabins, about every ten miles. Stations were located at Mentasta Pass (Mile 207), Big Takeo (Mile 238), and Tanana (Mile 267). 29/

In September 1902, a Valdez local newspaper, discussing the relative merits of the Valdez-Circle and Skagway-Circle mail routes, observed that the former route averaged for two winters four days better than the latter, and "while every trip was made by the Valdez route, a large number of trips in both the

spring and fall were not attempted on the Yukon." This fact did not escape the attention of the United States Senators who toured Alaska in the summer of 1903. Visiting the major settlements in Southeast Alaska and on the Yukon River and Seward Peninsula as well as Valdez, the Senate subcommittee of the committee on territories quickly learned that the greatest demand in Alaska was transportation. At Valdez, leading residents argued the need to improve the Valdez-Eagle trail to wagon road standard and to route all mail for Interior Alaska by way of the trail. Such action would result in considerable savings to the Post Office and War Departments. Improvement of the trail would doubtlessly be followed by the construction of a railroad over the route. The Senate subcommittee agreed with this view and upon its return to Washington recommended the construction of the Valdez-Eagle wagon road. 30/

The visit of the Senators to Alaska sparked a petition in the Fortymile country for the construction of the road by the coast cities and Fortymile camps. C.B. McDowell of Chicken Creek, the main proponent of the petition, advocated the construction of a good sled road, suitable for a six-horse team, from Valdez to Tanana Crossing by Valdez and other coastal towns, while the Fortymile miners would extend the road to the international boundary. He wrote, "We are determined to get the front door opened, and believe the only way to do so is to do it

ourselves. Waiting for government aid is like Mr. Micawber, waiting for something that never turns up." 31/ Anticipating that work on the Valdez-Eagle trail would begin soon, people began to establish homesteads and roadhouses along the trail. Describing this movement, McDowell predicted that the Tanana Valley would prove to be a rich field for prospectors, and that Tanana Crossing would be a major settlement. "Tanana Crossing," he wrote, "is the best place in the interior to trade with the Indians, being surrounded by the Ketchumstock, Mansfield, Mantasta, and Tetlan tribes, and their fur trade is worth having." The Tetlin Indians in particular had many marten skins, as well as over thirty black, silver, and cross fox skins. Traders could purchase the black foxes for \$75 to \$100 each and in turn sell them "outside" for \$275 to \$500 each. More important, Tanana Crossing could become an important trans-shipment point for the newly discovered diggings on Chena River. Supplies could be landed at Tanana Crossing and taken in scows to Fairbanks at far less expense than on the Dawson-Circle-Fairbanks route. 32/

Upon his return to Washington Senator Knute Nelson attempted to secure passage of a bill appropriating \$250,000 for the construction of a wagon road from Valdez to Eagle by a board of road commissioners under the War Department. In the end, he obtained a bill appropriating \$25,000 for a survey of the wagon

road. Under the immediate direction of J.M. Clapp, assistant engineer in the U.S. Engineer Office in Seattle, four survey parties were organized to survey the proposed wagon road in the summer of 1904. Clapp himself went over the Fortymile trail with Jasper Wilson, son of the Secretary of Agriculture, who was making a tour of Alaska in the interest of the Department of Agriculture. In his detailed report on the Eagle Trail, he described the Mentasta Pass-Tanana Crossing section as follows:

About a mile north of the Salana is the village of the Mentasta Indians to the number, all told, of about 40. It is located on a little clear-water stream which drains Lake Mentasta. The lake has an area of about 1 square mile. At the upper end of the lake the survey enters the Mentasta Pass, a naturally easy route through the hills which separate the watersheds of the Tanana and Copper Rivers. In this pass is to be found about the best quality of timber (spruce) met with along the whole route. The small creeks along the northern slope of the Mentasta Pass form the headwaters of the Little Tokio River, the course of which is short. About 5 miles north of the north end of the pass the Little Tokio joins the main Tokio River. The trail and survey line follow along the Little Tokio, cross it, and finally cross the Tokio a few hundred yards below the junction of the two rivers. From the crossing of the

Tokio they follow across a wet flat to the hillside on the west of the valley. A reconnaissance of the country shows that it is unnecessary to cross the Little Tokio and that a great deal of the wet flat could be eliminated, as well as one bridge crossing.

Both trail and survey follow this hillside to Mica Creek, a tributary to the Tokio. From here they cross a bottom about 7 miles, where the ground is soft and firm alternately, but over which a good road can be constructed. Suddenly this soft flat disappears, the foothills of the Tanana Hills bear off to the westward, and the valley of the upper Tanana is entered. This wide valley, upon which small quaking aspen trees grow abundantly, is dry and firm. Both trail and survey line lead in almost a direct line to the crossing of the Tanana River, 15 miles. This stretch of valley is low, being less than 50 feet above the Tanana anywhere and about 15 feet above it at the crossing. The construction of a road over this 15 miles is simply to remove a few stumps and fill in a few hollows. 33/

Both the Little Tok River (mile 230) and the Tok River (mile 234) required bridges, as both were dangerous to cross, even on rafts. The Tok River would probably require 500 feet

of trestle; and Mica Creek, about 250 feet of trestle. In any case, the Little Tok and Tok rivers should be provided with cables and a boat suitable to cross a horse on. 34/

In his report to the Corps of Engineers of December 10, 1904, Clapp considered the construction of a wagon road from Valdez to Eagle to be entirely feasible. He did not recommend its construction, even though he suspected the route would be traveled more as a result of the recent gold strike near Fairbanks. Stampeders to Fairbanks had taken the Fortymile trail or "the poor man's route" to Tanana Crossing, and then descended the Tanana River to Chena River. In all probability, more people would take this route during the summer of 1905. The projected construction costs were, however, much more than had been widely believed. Clapp estimated that the 430-mile road would cost an average of \$3,500 per mile or a total of \$1,505,000. Some sections would require many times the average figure, while others would require little work and expense. 35/

Clapp's report was never given serious consideration. On January 27, 1905, Senator Knute Nelson finally saw his bill providing for a Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska in the War Department signed into law. Popularly known as the Alaska Road Commission, the board consisted of three Army officers empowered "upon their own motion or upon petition, to locate,

lay out, construct and maintain wagon roads, and pack trails from any point on the navigable waters of [Alaska] to any town, mining or other industrial camp or settlement, between any such town, camps or settlements therein, if in their judgment such roads or trails are needed and will be of permanent value for the development of the district." This broad power was wielded effectively by Major Wilds P. Richardson, the former Adjutant General of the Department of Alaska and president of the Alaska Road Commission from 1905 to 1917.

From the beginning of its existence the Alaska Road Commission's primary objective was the improvement of the Valdez-Fairbanks trail to wagon road standard. This trail extended from the Fortymile trail at Gulkana up the Gulkana River to its head, and thence over Isabel Pass to the Delta River, and thence down that river to the Tanana River at present-day Big Delta. From that place the trail followed the Tanana River to Fairbanks on Chena River. Prospectors in the Copper River valley customarily used this trail to reach the new diggings in the Fairbanks district. By 1905 it was the principal overland mail route to Interior Alaska settlements.

As the Alaska Road Commission began the work to bring the Valdez-Fairbanks trail to wagon road standard, a project that was not completed until the early 1910s, the old Fortymile

trail declined in importance. In the summer of 1906 the Signal Corps constructed a telegraph line along the Valdez-Fairbanks trail from McCarty (now Big Delta) to Gakona. The telegraph line from the Tanana River to the Fortymile River via Goodpaster River was abandoned. In 1908, the Signal Corps established wireless stations at Fort St. Michael, Fort Gibbon, Fairbanks, Circle, and Fort Egbert. The Army began streamlining the telegraph system by abandoning lines or construction cut-off lines. In 1911, when Fort Egbert was closed, the Eagle-Gulkana telegraph line was abandoned. Five telegraph stations or offices on the line were closed. 36/

Mail service on the Valdez-Eagle mail route was discontinued in 1908. James Fish had the mail contract from this route until 1905. At that time, the Post Office Department awarded the contract to J.R. Crittenden of Valdez for \$46,000 a year. Summer service was twice a month; winter service was weekly. In 1907, Crittenden attempted to establish an express and passenger service on the Eagle route. Crews effected improvements on the trail; and cabins and barns were built along the trail every sixteen and thirty-six miles. In October 1907 he reported that he had a "road clear through over which a horse and sled can be used all winter." Up until that time only dogsleds had been used between the Chistochina and Tok stations. The road was ten feet wide from Ahtel Creek to

Indian Pass, and from Mentasta to a point four miles beyond Big Tokio. The crossing of the Little Tok River was eliminated, the road keeping to the left limit of that stream all the way. The new trail was said to be twenty-three miles shorter in distance. 37/

By 1908 many prospectors from the Fairbanks camp were entering the Upper Tanana district by way of the Tanana River. Most continued to enter the district by way of the Forty-mile trail and its many branches to the headwaters of the Nabesna, Chisana, and White rivers where a large number of gold and copper mining claims were held. However, with the founding of Fairbanks, increasing numbers of prospectors made their way up the Tanana River. They made strikes on many of the large tributaries of the Tanana River, notably on Kantishna River, Salcha River, Delta River, Goodpaster River, and Healy River. Mining developed on these tributaries, and small settlements arose about the roadhouses, trading posts, and telegraph stations along the trail from Fairbanks to the crossing of the Tanana River at Big Delta. Shallow-draft steamboats, such as the White Seal and the Koyukuk, and sometimes the Florence S. and the Pup, made regular runs from Fairbanks to Richardson and Big Delta with passengers, mining equipment and supplies, trade goods, telegraph material, and so forth. Sometimes the steamboats were chartered for trips to the mouth of the

Goodpaster River and even Tanana Crossing, although high transportation charges--\$200 per ton in 1908--prevented most prospectors from making that trip.

After Henry Bratnaber's successful ascent of the Tanana River to the Nabesna River and some distance up that river with the steamboat Ella in the summer of 1905, associations of prospectors formed to finance the chartering of steamboats to the Upper Tanana district. In the fall of 1908, prospectors began to open up the Healy River, and the steamboat White Seal made at least two trips up the Tanana River to that tributary. One of these trips included W.H. Newton who opened a store at the mouth of Healy River. About the same time James A. Northway in a small steamboat (perhaps the Tetlin), built and equipped with a prospecting boiler at Fairbanks that summer, ascended the Tanana River on a trading and prospecting expedition. He intended to start a trading post at the head of navigation on the Tanana River, but managed only to reach Tanana Crossing before winter set in. In the following summer he apparently made his way to Tetlin River and there established a post or cache. 38/

Both Newton and Northway experienced considerable difficulty in carrying on a trading business in the Upper Tanana district. In 1910 Northway again returned to the district, only to lose

all that he had in a river accident. In the Chisana gold rush of 1913, he ascended the river to the Nubesna River on the launch Tetlin and went up that river a distance of twenty-five to thirty-five miles before running the boat onto a gravel bar. Unable to supply his post on Healy River in 1910 and 1911, Newton and H.C. Gunn purchased an interest in the steamboat Dusty Diamond and a barge, and chartered both for the upriver voyage. In 1912, Newton opened a trading post at Tanana Crossing at the mouth of Nubesna River. Two years later, he sold his Nubesna store to John Strelic and removed to Healy River. 39/

When in 1913 a prospector named Andrew M. Taylor arrived in Dawson from the Chisana River with about two hundred ounces of gold, a stampede for the Upper Tanana district resulted. Prospectors rushed to Chisana River by all of the old routes--the White River route, the Gulkana route, the Skolai Pass route, and the Chisana Glacier route. In addition, many people ascended the Tanana River. Perhaps as many as three hundred men left Fairbanks for the Chisana during the months July to September 1913. Some ascended the river in poling boats and launches; and some took passage on the commercial carriers of the Northern Navigation Company and the American-Yukon Navigation Company, in which case they paid a \$100 fare, \$250 to \$350 a ton for freight with a limit of one

thousand pounds per passenger, and in addition agreed to cut wood to fuel the steamboat.

That fall twenty-one steamboats left Fairbanks for the Chisana diggings. The Reliance, the Tetlin, the Marathon and the Mabel succeeded in reaching the confluence of the Nabesna and Chisana rivers where a small short-lived community called Reliance City was founded. The Tana, the Sampson, the S&S, the Martha Clow, and possibly the Zodiak and the Shushana reached various points above Tanana Crossing before the winter set in. From these points many prospectors mushed overland or ascended the Tanana River in small boats to the upper Chisana River; others prospected the streams in the vicinity of the steamboat landings or returned to Fairbanks as best they could.

The overland trail to the upper Chisana River was described by William H. Newton in July 1913 to the Fairbanks newspapers. According to Newton, the summer trail from McCarty (Big Delta) to Tanana Crossing was dry and well-defined. Shelter was available every eight to twenty-two miles. From Tanana Crossing, where there was a trading post and an Episcopal mission, it was possible to pole a boat up the Tanana River and far up the Chisana River for "the water is so slack that the wind will blow a boat upstream." If travellers did not wish to build a boat at Tanana Crossing, they could follow the summer

trail to the Chisana River. From Tanana Crossing to Tetlin village, a distance of forty-four miles, the traveller would find a relay cabin at mile 22. The first seventeen miles of the trail was known as the "Dry Stretch" as there was no water onwthe route. Beyond Tetlin Lake, Newton advised, "it would be prudent to hire Indian guides." There was a good Indian trail from the lake to Nabesna River, thirty miles distant; and from Nabesna to the Big Bend country of the Chisana River, about sixty miles distant. The Upper Tanana district was, he said, bountiful in fish and game. He estimated that mushers from Fairbanks could cover the 335 miles to the Chisana River in twelve to thirteen days. 40/

The winter of 1913-14 in the Chisana district was very hard for the stampeders, most of whom were ill-equipped. Due to the difficulties of supplying the camp, the prospectors were often forced to live off the land. According to Stephen R. Capps, a geologist with a Geological Survey party that visited the area in the summer of 1914, an estimated two thousand mountain sheep "were killed within a distance of 20 miles of the placer camps during the winter of 1913-14, and in that area they have been almost completely exterminated." 41/ Rabbits and ptarmigan were then unusually numerous, and formed a substantial part of the prospectors' diet. The more fortunate sometimes bagged a caribou or moose. Once it was learned that the Chisana

district was not as rich or extensive as first believed, many prospectors left the district in whipsawn boats by descending the Chisana and Tanana rivers to Fairbanks. Capps estimated that several thousand people reached the Chisana camp during the fall and winter, but only a few hundred were there at any one time. 42/

After the Chisana gold rush, miners and prospectors continued to work the gravels of the upper White, Chisana, and Nabesna rivers, as well as many of the tributaries of the lower Tanana River. Prospectors found traces of gold in many places, but no deposits in paying quantities were located until the 1920s. Also, in 1914 a deposit of stibnite ore, then much in demand for the war effort, was discovered on Stibnite Creek, a northwesterly tributary of Tok River, about fifteen miles north of Mentasta Pass. Surface feature indicated a considerable body of ore, but it was left undeveloped. 43/

By and large, however, the Upper Tanana district was left to the Indians and a few traders, all of whom relied upon the Tanana River rather than the Valdez-Eagle trail as a route of travel to the district. One of these traders, realizing that the gold rushes to the district were merely a prelude to events to come, that the district sooner or later would lose the benefits of isolation, was to figure importantly in the history

of the Upper Tanana district. The story of his life is in large measure the story of the Upper Tanana Indians' efforts to prepare for and adjust to economic changes of a cataclysmic nature.

Footnotes

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PART TWO
JOHN HAJDUKOVICH AND THE UPPER TANANA INDIANS

Sometime between the years 1915 and 1922, a trader named John Krist Hajdukovich entered the Upper Tanana district. As a prospector, trapper, roadhouse proprietor, hunter, big game guide, freighter, and trader, Hajdukovich came to know the Upper Tanana district as well as any man could know it. Until his death in 1965, he was widely recognized as an authority on economic and social conditions in the district, and was frequently consulted on these matters. The regulation of hunting, fishing, and trapping activities, the construction of trails, roads, and airplane landing fields, and the introduction of postal, educational and medical services, were but a few of Hajdukovich's accomplishments. His crowning achievement was, however, the establishment of the Tetlin Indian Reserve in 1930. His fortunes as a trader tied to those of the Upper Tanana Indians, it is not surprising that Hajdukovich appointed himself the guardian of the Upper Tanana Indians.

Born on November 15, 1879 in Montenegro (now Yugoslavia), Hajdukovich was the second and last child in the family. His sister, with whom he corresponded throughout his life, was born in 1875. On May 15, 1903, perhaps following the tragic death of his parents, Hajdukovich, then only twenty-three years of

age, left his native country to join one of the great waves of immigrants from Eastern Europe to the United States. Six months later he arrived at Juneau to spend his first winter in Alaska. As news of the fabulous gold strikes at Fairbanks then circulated throughout the country, Hajdukovich left Juneau on July 4, 1904 to make a leisurely trip to the new diggings by way of Whitehorse and Dawson. Shortly after his arrival at Fairbanks on September 10, he with two partners necked sleds into the Bonnifield country south of Fairbanks where he was introduced to the art of trapping "small cats," which he later learned to call marten. For the next two years he spent his winters trapping marten and his summers prospecting in the vicinity of Fairbanks. 1/

In the fall of 1906 Hajdukovich left Fairbanks for the Upper Tanana district where he tried his fortune as a prospector on Goodpaster River and nearby streams. He established his headquarters at McCarty (now Big Delta), where the Valdez-Fairbanks trail crossed the Tanana River and seventeen prospectors and trappers made their home about the trading post and roadhouse founded by Ben Bennett in 1904. For a time he and his partner Milo Janovic engaged successfully in "market hunting"--killing and selling mountain sheep, moose, and caribou to the various roadhouses on the Valdez-Fairbanks

trail. 2/ Sometime in the late 1910s or early 1920s, he became the proprietor of the McCarty Roadhouse and advertised his services as a guide for big game hunters at \$7.50 a day. 3/ On April 3, 1923 he was naturalized in the District Court in Fairbanks. A year later, Judge Cecil H. Clegg of Fairbanks appointed Hajdukovich a U.S. Commissioner, which position he held until resigning in 1936. 4/

During the early 1920s there were at least four traders in the Upper Tanana district. Emil Hammer was located on Healy River; a Captain Flanagan at Tetlin; Herman Kessler at Nabesna; and John Hajdukovich at Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna. Perhaps desiring to devote more time to prospecting, Hajdukovich repeatedly attempted to quit the trading business. In 1922, he permitted his distant cousin, Milo Hajdukovich, to enter the trading business in the district, signing an agreement whereby Milo supposedly agreed to leave the district at the end of two years, not to put a gas boat on the Tanana River, and not to establish posts in the Indian villages. 5/ According to John, Milo subsequently broke the agreement on all points. In 1924 Milo persuaded John to permit him to remain in the district for another year, in order to collect the credit extended to the Indians. Then, in the following year, Milo put a gas boat on the river and bought houses for use as stores in

Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna. In 1929 he then bought Flanagan's trading post at Tetlin.

Having sold his trading business to a young man named Theodore R. Lowell, Hajdukovich did nothing to enforce the agreement with Milo until the summer of 1932. Since Lowell failed to meet the terms of the agreement to purchase his business, John wanted to re-enter the trading business in the Upper Tanana district but doubted that it would be successful unless Milo quit the district. John thus proposed to buy out Milo's boats, trading posts, caches, trade goods, and accounts receivable at Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna for \$25,000--\$10,000 cash down payment, \$5,000 in 1933, and \$10,000 in 1934 at four percent interest. Milo agreed to the sale. 6/

Hajdukovich evidently continued trading in the Upper Tanana district until the early 1940s. Trading was usually conducted during the winter, the traders traveling to the posts by dogteam several times a month. During the summers, the traders supplied the posts by boat. According to Ted Lowell, who was associated with Hajdukovich from 1929 to 1936, their primary post was near the mouth of Healy River; they operated additional stores at Tetlin, Last Tetlin, Moose Creek, and near Gardiner Creek on the Chisana River. Each summer Hajdukovich and Lowell made six to twelve trips in freight boats to the

Upper Tanana Indian villages. A trip might include a run up Healy River to trade with the Indians on Healy Lake; a brief stop at Tanana Crossing; an ascent of Tetlin River to Tetlin and Last Tetlin, and Nabesna River to Nabesna, and Chisana River to Scottie Creek. 7/

Hajdukovich was not the first to call upon the federal government to aid the Indians. As early as 1900, the mail contractor Oscar Fish wrote to the Secretary of the Interior from Tanana Crossing, appealing for aid for the Indians of Mentasta, Tetlin, Mansfield, and Kechumstuk. When he passed through these villages in the spring of 1900, he found many destitute Indians, all begging for food. Their destitution he attributed to the fact that the fur-bearing animals in the area were almost extinct, and that large numbers of moose and caribou, which the Indians mainly depended for subsistence, had been killed. Fish gave the Indians all the food that he could spare, but it was not enough. "They are in the main, honest, more industrious than the majority of Indians, very loyal and I think fully as deserving of Gov't aid as any." 8/ The appeal went unheeded. The government through the Army provided large quantities of rations to destitute Indians in the Copper River country during the 1900s and 1910s, but nothing was done for the Upper Tanana Indians.

Following the Chisana gold rush of 1913, the Upper Tanana Indians themselves made appeals for government assistance. In September 1915, Walter Vyek, Chief of the Mansfield Indians, together with the assistant Chiefs of Kechumstuk, Tetlin, and Mentasta, had Daniel Bouville, a prospector on Chicken Creek who established a store at Mansfield in 1900, write a letter to the Governor of Alaska. Bouville requested the governor's assistance in obtaining the permission of the federal government to establish a fur farm and a cooperative store in their district. According to their plans, Bouville would finance the store, taking shares in return which he would sell "outside" in order to stock the store. Bouville apparently promised to pay much for young and all live fur-bearing animals and to extend credit to the Indians in times of hardship. In support of their petition, the Indians spoke long about their poor conditions. They caught few fur-bearing animals; the caribou were scarce; they lacked money to purchase ammunition; the white men no longer purchased their meat and crafts; and now some white men planned to capture caribou for domestication purposes. Even when the white men paid for furs or animals, they did not give a fair price. They would pay the Indians \$150 to \$250 for a good live silver fox, and then sell it "outside" for \$3,000. The white men killed many caribou and destroyed the habitat with forest fires. "What are we going to do when skins all gone, caribou all gone," they asked. 9/

Governor Strong gave little hope to the Indians. Writing that he was opposed to government aid to the Indians except "when the necessity was urgent," Strong expressed doubt that the condition of the Indians was as deplorable as they would have one believe. After all, in 1914 it was reported that the Kechumstuk Indians were threatened with starvation, but, upon investigation, the report was not verified. Nevertheless, he wrote, he had directed an investigation be made of conditions in the district. As far as low fur prices and the possible domestication of caribou, Strong blithely expressed his view that the prices would soon rise and that the number of caribou taken for domestication purposes should not be significant so as to cause the Indians to worry. The government intended to establish hospitals for the care and treatment of Indians affected with diseases as rapidly as possible. In the matter of the proposed fur farm and cooperative store, Strong offered a few words of encouragement, adding, however, that once the company was incorporated, it must pay an annual tax of \$15 into the Territorial Treasury "for the privilege of doing business in Alaska." 10/

Until the early 1920s little had been done for the Upper Tanana Indians. As early as 1909 the U.S. Bureau of Education considered the establishment of a school at either Kechumstuk or Mansfield, but decided against it partly because of the high

cost of transportation to the district and partly because the Episcopalians were establishing missions on the Tanana River. 11/ In 1909 a mission was established at Salcha; and in 1912, unable to reach Mansfield owing to low water, at Tanana Crossing. The Tanana Crossing mission was closed in 1921, but was periodically opened. 12/ Then, in 1924, the Bureau of Education opened a school at Tetlin. Never formally trained as a schoolteacher, John "Jack" A. Singleton conducted classes in a small cabin provided by Chief David. Fifty-seven years old when he opened the school, Singleton left California and stamped to the Klondike in the spring of 1897. He lived the life of the itinerant prospector for many years, and from 1920 to 1922 was the postmaster at Tanana Crossing. 13/

The establishment of the Tetlin school gave added weight to John Hajdukovich's petitions for the improvement of trails in the Upper Tanana district. As early as 1919 he requested improvements on the McCarty-Healy River trail. According to Hajdukovich, the trail was used during the winter by twelve white men and possibly one hundred Indians as far east as Tanana Crossing. The trail was thirty-six miles long; by river the distance was about sixty miles. The trail was used little for the transportation of freight, a motorboat and poling boats being operated on the Tanana River during the summer for the transportation of passengers and freight. Hajdukovich

requested the Road Commission to rebuild several pole foot-bridges over streams that did not freeze over in the winter; and in addition to pay a trapper to operate a ferry over Clearwater Creek as the man planned to leave the district on account of the shortage of fur-bearing animals in the district. The Road Commission sent a man to inspect the trail in June, and he recommended that work be done on the trail. 14/

During and immediately after World War I, the Road Commission did not undertake new projects owing to inadequate appropriations. With its reorganization in the early 1920s, the Road Commission reassessed the value of its trails and roads in light of Alaska economic conditions. In the summer of 1921, Engineer Officer John C. Gotwals went over the old Valdez-Eagle trail, and recommended its improvement to the Nabesna and Chisana districts and the Slate Creek district. Work on the Gulkana-Chistochina trail subsequently began. 15/

Rather than extend the Gulkana-Chistochina trail to Tanana Crossing, the Road Commission adopted plans for the improvement of the Big Delta-Tanana Crossing trail, about 113 miles in distance. A contract for the work amounting to \$1,000 was awarded to John Hajdukovich in 1923. During the winter of 1923-24 he widened the winter trail in places, cleared the windfalls, graded banks where the trail crossed streams, cut

twenty-four miles of new trail between McCarty and Clearwater Creek and between Healy River and Sam Creek; and constructed bridges over Clearwater Creek and George Creek suitable for horses and double-ended sleds. Reporting completion of the work in February 1924, Hajdukovich stated that about fifteen tons of freight had already been hauled over the trail with horses, and that eight tons more were to be transported to Tanana Crossing. 16/

Shortly thereafter, Hajdukovich attempted to obtain another contract from the Road Commission. In early 1924 he wired to Ike Taylor in Juneau that bridges were needed on Clearwater Creek, Healy River, Sam Creek, Billy Creek, Mansfield Creek, and the Little Tanana River; as well as a trail from Tanana Crossing to Tetlin, about fifty miles, as the existing trail to Tetlin went over high hills and was almost impassable. If given a contract for \$4,500, Hajdukovich would construct the trail and bridges, provided the work was allowed to begin in the spring before the ground thawed so that horses could haul the logs to the sites. Once this work was completed, the trail could be used during the summer, and pack horses could be taken from McCarty to Tanana Crossing by crossing the Tanana River only once--at Healy River. He added that he had an opportunity to take tourists into the Upper Tanana district if the bridges were constructed. 17/

Apparently the Road Commission rejected the proposal for in March 1925 Hajdukovich again appealed for assistance, this time to Colonel James G. Steese, president of the Alaska Road Commission. Upon learning that Steese was visiting Chitina, Hajdukovich wired him with a request to plow a winter road from McCarty to Tanana Crossing. Understanding that the Road Commission planned to build the road in any case with a caterpillar at Munson's Roadhouse, Hajdukovich stated that the residents of the Upper Tanana district were willing to pay half of the construction costs, inasmuch as they had about ten tons of freight to haul to McCarty and upriver points. Surprised by the request, Steese replied that the Road Commission had no intention of plowing a highway; he promised to look into the matter when he visited Fairbanks but warned, "you better not count on any help from us." 18/

Perhaps as a result of Steese's visit to Fairbanks, the Road Commission again looked into the possibility of making improvements to the McCarty-Tanana Crossing trail. In the winter of 1925-26, two engineers of the Road Commission went over the trail. "The main business of the people of this district is trapping and trading, there is hardly any mining going on, some of the white men do a little prospecting, but no gold has been discovered sufficient in quantity to permit mining operations," they reported. This situation they

attributed to the fact that the district was isolated from the main trails, thus making supplies and construction prohibitively expensive and leaving "no inducement for people to prospect." The Big Delta-Tanana Crossing trail was "fairly good," but four bridges were needed across streams that remained open during the winter. In addition, there was a need for a trail from Tanana Crossing to Tetlin, where about one hundred Indians and a few white men resided. Most freight for Tetlin was taken up the Tanana River during the winter. If the trail were constructed, the distance would be reduced from about sixty miles to about forty miles. However, the trail would require a bridge of sixty-foot span over the Tok River and four hundred feet of light grading about seven miles from Tetlin. 19/

Apparently the Road Commission did not take any action on the request, for Hajdukovich later complained to Alaska Governor George A. Parks, "for some reason we are unable to get a mail route up the Tanana, keep a telegraph station open here or get any appropriation for a trail to the Upper River." The cause for this complaint was sparked when Hajdukovich learned that the Signal Corps planned to abandon the Valdez-Fairbanks telegraph line and establish radio stations at Richardson and Copper Center. Hajdukovich vigorously opposed the plan. Writing to the Signal Corps office at Valdez in March 1926, he

requested that one of the stations be located at Big Delta, "the most centrally located place for the stations." The station would serve two post offices--one at Big Delta and another at Tanana Crossing and "the probable establishment" of one at Tetlin. Big Delta, he claimed, was "the distributary point for over 60 or 70 tons of supplies for this Upper Tanana country and also the shipping point for 50 or 60 thousand dollars worth of furs. And in the near future the mail route to this Upper country will doubtless leave the Gov't road here." 20/

Hajdukovich sent Governor Parks a copy of the letter with another requesting his intervention as "we are so isolated in this Upper Tanana country that it works a great hardship on us to be cut off from all communication with the outside." Taking the matter up with Colonel J. D. L. Hartman of the Signal Corps, Parks requested a wireless station at Big Delta. "No doubt if the overland telegraph system from Valdez to Fairbanks is abandoned, the line will be maintained as a telephone line either by the Alaska Road Commission or by those who live along the route, and with the use of the telephone system and the wireless, all of the country tributary to the north end of the Richardson Highway will have communication with Fairbanks and other wireless stations," he reasoned. Hartman suggested that Parks write to Colonel Steese about the matter as it was Steese

who recommended the station be located at Richardson. Parks and Steese quickly reached agreement, and so on May 8 the Chief Signal Officer approved the location of a station at Big Delta. 21/

Hajdukovich was evidently impressed by Parks' political influence, for in January 1927, at the request of "some of the old residents of the Upper Tanana," Hajdukovich wrote to Parks for support in a number of proposed Federal projects in the district. Specifically, he wanted a geological survey of the Mentasta Pass region, the construction of new trails and improvement of existing trails in the Upper Tanana district, and additional medical and educational services for the Indians. Hajdukovich believed that the district was well mineralized, and claimed to know of twenty-four creeks between Big Delta and Tanana Crossing that carried "good indications" of placer gold. The lack of a geological survey, combined with the absence of good trails, "has held the country back." Bridges over streams above Healy River as well as a winter trail from Big Delta to Tetlin, were needed. As the mail from Fairbanks to Chicken and Eagle went by way of Tanana Crossing, a distance of about 550 miles, the proposed winter trail would allow the transportation of mail from Big Delta to Tetlin, about 150 miles, and thus allow "a big saving in cost and time"

and the establishment of a post office at Tetlin, which was "the only Government school without a Post Office in Alaska."

Hajdukovich also argued that the Upper Tanana Indians, numbering more than three hundred, were entitled to government medical and educational services. The only medical aid available to the Indians at that time was at the mission at Tanana Crossing, which was soon to be discontinued. The Upper Tanana Indians, especially the children, suffered from tuberculosis and malnutrition. In contrast, the Tanana Crossing Indians were in much better health. "Of the 21 children born during the past five years at Tanana Crossing all are living today." Viewing health as "the first step in advancement," Hajdukovich argued that better medical and educational services would encourage the Indians "to take an interest in the conservation of big game and fur."

The Government school at Tetlin, the only one of its kind on the Tanana River, helped the Indians a great deal, and they were "willing to do everything in their power to keep it going." There were about sixty-five children of school age in the district, too many to attend the school at Tetlin, although the chief at Tetlin kept six children from outlying camps in school each year at his own expense for food and clothing. Given this situation Hajdukovich proposed the establishment of an industrial boarding school in the district, and asked the

Governor to request the District Superintendent of the Bureau of Education to visit the district with that view in mind. 22/

Responding in March with a hastily written letter, Parks advised Hajdukovich that various federal and territorial agencies had considered many of his suggestions in years past, but owing to lack of funds and the existence of greater needs elsewhere in the Territory were unable to take appropriate measures. He approached Dr. Philip Smith, Director of Geological Survey for Alaska, on the possibility of a geological survey in the Mentasta Pass region, and was told that the Survey would make an investigation as soon as it was possible. In the matter of winter trail construction, Parks promised to bring the matter up with the Alaska Road Commission, but warned Hajdukovich that nothing may be done inasmuch as there were, unlike the Upper Tanana district, many areas in Alaska where water transportation was not available and the need for trails greater. That the Post Office Department had already issued orders to close the post office at Tanana Crossing, that the mission there was to be closed, and no one was available to conduct the post office business, did not help the case for trails in the district. As far as the proposed industrial school was concerned, Parks wrote that such institutions required expenditures of \$50,000 to \$100,000. Many localities in the Territory needed such

schools, but owing to the expense the government could only provide for about one new school each year in those places where they would benefit the greatest number of Natives. Nevertheless, he promised Hajdukovich that he would recommend an investigation by the Bureau of Education on the proposed school. 23/

Hajdukovich's appeals fell upon sympathetic ears, for the recent discovery of lode gold in the Wrangell Mountains had attracted a great deal of interest. After twenty-two years of prospecting on the Nabesna and Chisana rivers, Carl F. Whitham discovered in 1925 a rich deposit of gold on the upper Nabesna River. Four years later, he organized the Nabesna Mining Corporation and a short while later began production. As prospecting increased in the Wrangell Mountains, the U.S. Geological Survey launched in 1929 an ambitious program to investigate the mineral resources of the eastern part of the Alaska Range from the Delta River to the international boundary. Beginning in 1929, Fred H. Moffit conducted geologic surveys in the district, covering the upper Slana, Dry Tok, and Tok rivers in that year; the area between Big Tok and Nabesna rivers in 1931 and 1934; the area between the upper Tok and Robertson River in 1936; the area between Suslota Lake and Nabesna River in 1938; the area between Delta River and Robertson River in 1939; and finally the area between Chisana

River and the international boundary in 1940. During the same period, Gerald Fitzgerald and T. W. Ranto conducted topographic surveys, covering the north slope of the Alaska Range from Tetlin Lake to Robertson River in 1935; the area between Robertson River and Delta River in 1936; and the areas between Suslota Creek and the Tanana lowlands and between the Tetlin Lakes and the International Boundary in the years 1937 to 1939. As a result, a considerable area of previously unsurveyed area, particularly in the vicinity of Tetlin Lakes and Big Tok River, was mapped for the first time. 24/

Insofar as the construction and improvement of trails in the Upper Tanana district was concerned, Hajdukovich achieved little success. In the winter of 1927-28, the Road Commission provided for the construction of bridges across the Little Tanana and Tok rivers, and sent a man over the Big Delta-Tanana Crossing trail and probably the Tanana Crossing-Tok River trail to investigate the need for improvements. On March 10, 1928 Frank Nash reported the completion of the Little Tanana River bridge and recommended that no further consideration be given to the Tok River bridge. The bridge was supposed to have been built where the Tok River was constricted to its narrowest width, about 110 feet. Upon investigation, however, it was found to be a poor spot for a bridge, as the site was in the center of a big bend in the river where the banks, about five

to eight feet of muck over gravel and from eight to ten feet in height, were subject to cutting by ice during the spring breakup. The trail itself was not well marked or easy to follow. Long stretches of the trail were located on the Tanana River where a traveler could get easily lost in the maze of channels. John Hajdukovich and the Indians had cut a trail from Tanana Crossing to the Tok River. The eighteen-mile trail was "well cut, blazed and easily followed" although only trappers' tents--one about eight miles above Tanana Crossing and another on Tok River--were the only shelter for travelers. With the exception of the Big Delta-Healy River section, the trail was used only during the winter months by traders if and when they were unable to transport supplies up the river by boat. This was not an uncommon experience. In the fall of 1927, John Hajdukovich ran his boat aground on the river about fifteen miles above Big Delta, and as a result had to haul about fifteen tons of freight over the trail to Tanana Crossing by double-ender.

Submitting the report to Major D. H. Gillette, Hawley W. Sterling, the Road Commission's District Superintendent in Fairbanks, called attention to the probable need for additional tripods on certain stretches of the trail. Nevertheless, he recommended "no further expenditures of any kind on this trail until such time as travel increases." The Road Commission

evidently concurred with the recommendation. Hajdukovich and Lowell nevertheless continued to travel the trail to Tetlin. The Indians evidently preferred the older trail, sometimes referred to as the "Seventeen Mile trail," across the Tetlin Hills to Tok River and Tanacross. 25/

Hajdukovich met with better success in his appeal for aid to the Upper Tanana Indians. On the same day, March 18, 1927, that Parks answered Hajdukovich's letter, he sent a letter to the Seattle Office of the U.S. Bureau of Education. Quoting liberally from Hajdukovich's letter concerning the Indians, Parks requested the Bureau to investigate the matter. On July 12, 1928 Ben B. Mozee, in charge of the Bureau's Alaska Division, who had been in touch with John Hajdukovich but two months earlier in the matter of arranging a shipment of supplies for the Tetlin school, instructed Earl J. Beck, superintendent of the Central District, to contact Hajdukovich at Big Delta in connection with his trip through the Tanana and Copper River valleys to investigate the educational and medical needs of the Indians. 26/

Leaving Anchorage on December 28, 1929, Beck traveled to Fairbanks by train and from that place to Big Delta by truck. There he met Silas Henry of Paul's Cabin who was to guide Beck to the Upper Tanana district. On the morning of January 2, in

the middle of a blizzard and sub-zero temperatures, Beck and Henry started out over the McCarty-Tanana Crossing trail by dogsled. Visiting briefly the settlements of Healy River, George Creek, Sam Creek, Paul's Cabin, and Mansfield, they arrived at Tanana Crossing in the clear afternoon of January 8 when the temperature was -35°F. After a brief inspection of the Episcopal Mission buildings and consultation with the Indians about the need for a school, Beck left Tanana Crossing for Tetlin at 8:00 a.m. on January 9. While on the trail, they encountered one of the worst blizzards on the journey; winds gusting to ninety miles an hour frequently picked up the sled and dogs. Near exhaustion the men reached "17 Mile Cabin" at 6:30 p.m., having covered only seventeen miles that day. They spent the night in the cabin, and the next morning departed for Tetlin, arriving there at 2:30 p.m. on January 10.

The Indians of Tetlin extended a warm welcome to Beck. That same evening Beck met with Singleton and "his Indians" to discuss the needs of the community. Chief Joe Peter made a "very flowery address" which Beck described as follows:

To make this story good, I must first tell you, that Mr. Milo Hajdukovich, one of the local traders, is given over to the use of 'By God' in his conversation. The Chief in his address of welcome, arose in a very dignified manner

and began, "Long time we wait for School Boss to come--by god. Maybe we wait fifteen years--and now he come--(long interval) by God." He then went on to say that the people were getting along fine, that they got along fine before the white man came, but were getting along much better since the white man came. He also stated that they didn't ask the government for any help, they had plenty to eat and plenty to wear and that the only thing they want was a good school house.

For years Singleton had conducted classes in available cabins and tents. The Indians finally decided that they had waited long enough for the government to build a school, and so started to build one themselves. When Beck arrived, the walls of the log schoolhouse were in place, and the Indians expected to have it completed by the summer of 1930. However, they wanted the government to furnish scarce materials, such as tin for the roof, windows, doors, and so forth.

On the following day Beck left Tetlin for Nabesna village, twenty-four miles distant by winter trail. Upon learning that the Nabesna Indian often migrated, he informed them that he could not recommend a school for their winter village. According to Beck, the Indians all decided to move to Tetlin during the summer months. There they could fish and send their

children, sixteen of whom were of age, to school. On January 12, Beck returned to Tetlin over his former route, arriving there after a five-and-one-half-hour drive. He intended to spend only a short time in Tetlin before continuing his journey to the upper Copper River valley by way of Mentasta Pass. However, with temperatures ranging from -50°F. to -60°F., he was forced to remain at Tetlin until January 24. This delay in his plans permitted him to collect additional information about the conditions of the Indians.

The Indians of Tetlin, Beck was to write later, "are by far the best Natives I have ever met in my travels in Alaska or elsewhere." They are a "thrifty, honest, industrious, homeloving and a self-respecting people." Located about thirty-seven miles by trail from Tanana Crossing, the village consisted of about seventeen habitable houses, all of them unusually large for Native cabins, as well as the stores of Milo Hajdukovich and Ted Lowell. About fifty-five Indians lived in the village; they had not had much contact with white men and had not been ravaged with the diseases so commonly found among the Natives in other Alaska communities. Although they still used caribou skins for winter garments, they had largely adopted the white man's way of dress, preferring a mackinaw to a "first class Caribou skin coat." Liquor, the bane of many Alaska communities, was not used or made in any

form in Tetlin, and the Indians were proud of it. In fact, Beck recalled, the Indians took pride in just about everything they did. Even when it came to the care of their dogs, the Indians went so far as to bed the dogs down with straw every night.

Leading "a rather independent and aristocratic life," the Indians made their livelihood by hunting moose and caribou in the fall, trapping lynx, fox, mink, wolves, coyotes, and ermine in the winter, trapping muskrats in the spring, and fishing in the lakes in the vicinity in the summer. In an effort to conserve fur-bearing animals, the chief periodically assigned trapping grounds. When, for example, muskrats in one lake were trapped heavily, the chief closed the lake to trapping in the following spring. Nevertheless, the game population in the area appeared to be on the decline. In former years the Indians' winter catch was \$40,000 to \$50,000. They did not expect to earn more than \$20,000 for the winter season of 1929-30. In addition, wolves and especially coyotes were decimating the caribou and moose populations, further endangering the lifeways of the Indians. For when the fur catch was low, the Indians purchased fewer commodities and relied more on caribou meat and dried meat. Although the Indians had been instructed by agents of the Alaska Game Commission in the art of trapping wolves and coyotes, they were

not interested in spending two or three days to run a wolf down and kill it when the bounty was so low. They believed that they should get at least \$25 for the trouble.

As far as the white men in the village were concerned, Beck had nothing but praise. Jack Singleton, who had adopted an Indian boy named Teddy, performed his work well and conscientiously, even going to the fishing grounds of the Nabesna Indians to hold classes for a few months each summer. Using the old-fashioned methods that he had learned when a boy, Singleton stressed reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as the "manual arts" in the belief that "the Natives should be taught such things as will best fit him to his environment." The school was the center of all activities in the village. Singleton held day classes for the children and night classes for everyone. The chief always attended the day classes partly because he was the chief and partly because he wanted to learn the white man's way. The chief's wife also attended the day classes to teach the girls how to sew and make clothing. The Indians, wrote Beck, were "very proud of their school and the progress shown." The Indians were very appreciative of government support for the school; in fact, Beck found them to be "the most appreciative of any that I have found anywhere in Alaska."

No less important was Singleton's role as a nurse to Indians from villages fifty to one hundred miles away. Beck found Singleton to be "very attentive in this respect," doing everything possible to cure the sick and keep the well in good health. As the nearest physician was in Fairbanks, the chest of medicine sent into the district proved to be a "Godsend."

Much of the credit for the advancement of the Tetlin Indians, from the establishment of the school to the prohibition of liquor in the village, Beck attributed to John Hajdukovich, a man who personified all of the admirable qualities of the "Montenegrins as a race" for "courage, honesty, and uprightness." Both John and his second cousin Milo jealously guarded the Indians of Tetlin from harmful influences. There was of course a personal interest in the well-being of the Indians, for as they told Beck on several occasions, "a drunken native did not produce as much fur as the same native would if he were sober all of the time." This personal interest did not, however, detract from their accomplishments. Elsewhere, Beck observed, "the trader that does not give liquor in some form or other in Alaska is the exception rather the rule." Traders frequently used liquor as a tool by which to obtain furs at a lower price or without payment at all.

True, the traders in Tetlin charged high prices for goods, perhaps the highest prices in Alaska. These prices were not arbitrarily inflated, said Beck, but were the result of the difficulties of transportation to the district. Freight charges from Fairbanks to McCarty, a distance of ninety miles, were \$20 a ton by automobile. From McCarty to Tanana Crossing, a distance of seventy rivermiles, the charge was \$100 per ton. Tetlin was located about fifty rivermiles from Tanana Crossing. The traders usually hauled about three tons of freight in small gasboats on each trip from McCarty to Tanana Crossing, trips which took eight to ten days under favorable conditions. The traders charged the same prices for goods at Tetlin, Nabesna, and Tanana Crossing.

On January 24, at 7:30 a.m. Beck and John Hajdukovich left Tetlin over their former trail to "17 Mile Cabin," which they reached at 4:00 p.m., and continued another two hours to Clearwater Creek, a tributary of Tok River, before setting camp. On the following morning they left Clearwater Creek for the confluence of the Big Tok and Little Tok rivers, where they made camp after six and one-half hours of hard travel. They broke camp the following morning and made their way to Mentasta village, arriving in the early afternoon. There they met Chief Sam, better known as Mentasta Sam, who was then giving a potlatch in memory of his brother's death ten years earlier.

Shortly after his arrival, Beck met Indians from Batzulnetas who desired him to visit their village and discuss the possibility of establishing a school there. Beck and Hajdukovich left Mentasta on January 27 and arrived at Batzulnetas in the afternoon of the following day. There they met Robert McKennan, an anthropologist, and Bansanetta Charlie, who was then giving a small potlatch to detract from the one given by Mentasta Sam and was trying to stop as many Copper River Indians as possible from going to the Mentasta potlatch. From Batzulnetas, Beck with trader Lawrence DeWitt of Gulkana continued his journey to Copper Center by way of Slana, Chistochina, Gakona, and Gulkana. He then went to Chitina and Cordova before taking an ocean steamer to Seward and the railroad to Anchorage. Arriving in Anchorage on February 13, Beck concluded his long journey, which by his own account required traveling 394 miles by dog team, 204 miles by automobile, 244 miles by trail, 140 miles by ocean steamer, and 8 miles on foot, for a total distance of 990 miles.

In his lengthy report sent to J. H. Wagner, Chief of the Alaska Division in Seattle, Beck recommended that a school be established at Tanana Crossing and a school building be constructed at Tetlin. In addition, he recommended that a nurse be stationed at Tetlin, where she could also serve the Indians.

of Tanana Crossing and Nabesna. A copy of the report was also sent to John Cooper, the Commissioner of Education. 27/

Not long after Beck visited Tetlin, the Indians of Tetlin village received another visitor, this time the noted anthropologist Robert A. McKennan. McKennan met his first Tetlin Indians on January 27, 1930 when some eighteen Indians from Tetlin and Nabesna, fresh from the Mentasta potlatch, visited Batzulnetas to participate in Sanford Charlie's potlatch. It did not take McKennan long to realize that these Indians were unlike others that he had earlier met on the upper Chisana and Nabesna rivers. "What manner of Indian is this?" McKennan found himself asking, as the Indians joined in the celebration at one point wearing suits and ties with gold watches and complained that their hosts did not have phonograph records for fox trots. On another occasion Chief Peter asked McKennan to ask Sanford Charley in turn to remove the dogs from the cabin where the potlatch was being held for he did not want his people to catch lice.

On the following day McKennan met John Hajdukovich and Earl Beck. McKennan wrote in his diary that day that Beck was "a young man, most enthusiastic about his work, and very pleasant." John Hajdukovich, he wrote, appeared to the "the patron saint and father confessor" to the Tetlin and Nabesna

Indians. The appearance of Beck and Hajdukovich disrupted Sanford Charley's plans for a poker game topped off with a keg of beer. Soon the two men persuaded the chief to distribute presents that night instead of prolonging the potlatch for five days as Charley had planned. It was at Hajdukovich's prompting that Chief Charley finally agreed.

On January 29 John Hajdukovich and several Indians took McKennan, who was suffering from an injured foot, to Mentasta. The next morning the Indians left Mentasta for Tetlin, planning to take a shorter route across the mountains (probably Meiklejohn Pass). Hajdukovich planned to take a longer and easier route and persuaded McKennan to accompany him. Leaving Mentasta the same morning, the two men followed the Slana River to its head "through beautiful country not unlike the Cascades or the Bitter Roots." Shortly they crossed a low divide and followed the Little Tok River. "We covered mile after mile and still no let up," McKennan wrote in his diary. Several hours after darkness closed in, they reached an old abandoned cabin on the lower reaches of Tok River, and prepared to spend the night there. By McKennan's reckoning, they had covered thirty-five miles that day. The following morning the two men started out on the trail again. "The country was changing." McKennan wrote:

We were now in the valley of the Big Tok, wide bottoms covered with poplar and scrub spruce and flanked by low lying hills. Ahead I could see the mountains on the further side of the Tanana. But I was not destined to reach them for suddenly we veered to the south, crossed the broad bottom of the Tok and started climbing a steep ridge. It was hard going and slow for me because I could not resist the temptation to look about. Far off I could see the Tanana, winding through its broad valley, and looking for all the world like my dreams of the Mackenzie. Once we reached the summit the going was easier. I climbed aboard the sled and we were off on the Tetling watershed at last. We crossed lake after lake.

They reached Tetlin that night when the temperature was hovering at -40°F . Not long before they arrived, the Indians that left Mentasta at the same time reached the village after a hard trip across the mountains.

Spending the next three days at Tetlin in Singleton's cabin, McKennan was amazed by what John Hajdukovich and Singleton had achieved in this isolated village and worried about the possible effects on his anthropological work. "It is difficult to believe," he wrote, "that I am really living in an isolated Indian village, so modern is everyone." "[E]veryone is clean,

neat and self-respecting." "Indeed Tetling is unique on the Tanana and the Indians are noted for their progressiveness." McKennan spent a great deal of time in conversation with Singleton; and every evening in dancing the modern dances with the Indian girls and women. One day John Hajdukovich visited him and asked him to see a little boy who wanted to shake his hand. McKennan obliged, and followed John to a cabin where he found "an emaciated lad of about 15 lying on the bed." The boy had been bed-ridden for three years as a result of tuberculosis and a dislocated spine. McKennan was surprised to find the boy "most cheerful" and exclaiming "me good feel."

On February 4 McKennan left Tetlin with an Indian guide for Nabesna. Taking a well-marked trail, they crossed level terrain dotted with innumerable lakes and swamps, "a vast, swampy bottom land covered with scrub spruce, poplar and birch." As he crossed the country, McKennan was reminded of pictures of the Newfoundland and Northern Quebec bush. Arriving at Nabesna late in the evening, he found the Indians waiting for the trader. The caribou run did not occur that year, and so the Indians were living on dried and frozen fish. 28/

McKennan spent much of February 1930 on the lower reaches of the Nabesna River in connection with his anthropological work.

the results of which were published in The Upper Tanana Indians in 1959. McKennan collected a great deal of information about the Indians--their history, customs, mores, legends, myths, and daily life. The upper Tanana Indians, in their ceaseless quest for food, annually participated in a migratory cycle governed in part by the migrations of fish and game. Quoting Chief Sam, an elderly man who was born at Last Tetlin, McKennan described the cycle as follows:

In the old days the people seldom stayed in the village. Always they were on the trail, hunting and camping. In July whitefish were dried and cached at the Fish Camp. Then the people went moose hunting, caching the meat. In the winter they visited the caches and then when the caribou came they killed caribou. After the moose season the people went up to the head of the Nabesna to secure sheepskins for winter. Then they would return to the village; make their clothes, and then take the winter hunting trails to Ladue Creek, the Chisana basin, and the White River. In the spring when the bears were coming out they returned to the village. They would take birch bark and sew it together to make new tents and then wait for the caribou to come back again. 29/

McKennan maintained that Chief Sam's description of the Indians' subsistence cycle was still valid for the year 1930, although the establishment of trading posts in the district resulted in some changes. The Indians devoted the winter season to trapping as well as to hunting, and the spring to shooting muskrats in the lakes. Taking these changes into account, McKennan summarized the Indians' seasonal life as follows: "Fishing at well-known sites in July; moose hunting in the summer; sheep hunting in the fall; then the early migration of caribou; then more moose hunting and quite possibly hunger, alleviated somewhat in the late spring by ducks and muskrats; and then again the welcome appearance of caribou in late May." 30/ The location of the trading posts, McKennan believed, also tended "to divide the groups into bands trapping out from their villages," replacing the "earlier fluidity" of movement by people in their hunting, fishing, and trapping activities.

The Indians and traders maintained good relations, McKennan reported. The Indians received good prices for their skins, and were paid in goods. The traders' prices for goods were high, and so many Indians were in debt to the traders. This did not engender hard feelings for the Indians "enjoyed taking advantage of the rivalry between the white men and became very shrewd in playing one against the other." Owing to the

difficulties of transportation, the traders tended to handle small and expensive luxuries rather than "the bulkier and cheaper goods ordinarily regarded as necessities of life." 31/

One day in March 1930, McKennan later recalled, Hajdukovich made a hurried trip to Tetlin, and told him that he was going to make a trip to Boston and visit Wendell Endicott. Unknown to McKennan, Hajdukovich's journey was to result in the establishment of the first Indian reserve in the Tanana River valley. For several years, he and Ted Lowell had discussed the possibility of an Indian reservation in the Upper Tanana district, one encompassing the Tetlin lakes and the Nabesna area. Lowell argued for a smaller area, and apparently convinced Hajdukovich. According to Lowell, he and Hajdukovich "wanted to leave the Tok River off" the reservation partly because two white trappers named D.T. Denny and Ole Esplund operated traplines along the river. 32/

During the 1920s Hajdukovich guided many prominent businessmen on hunting expeditions in the Upper Tanana district, principally in the area of the Johnson and Gerstle rivers, for caribou, moose, sheep, and bear. Three of these men, namely William N. Beach of New York, H. Wendell Endicott of Boston, and Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., of St. Louis, figured importantly in Hajdukovich's plans for the upper Tanana Indians.

Hajdukovich evidently met Beach in 1923 when he guided the famous hunter into the Upper Tanana district in the fall of that year. 33/ Impressed by Hajdukovich's skill as a guide and organizer of hunting expeditions, Beach referred friends wanting to hunt in Alaska to Hajdukovich. In the fall of 1925, John K. Howard went on a trip with Hajdukovich. 34/ Howard was associated with the Gaston, Snow, Daltonstall and Hunt firm with offices in the Shawmut Bank Building in Boston. H. Wendell Endicott, who knew both Beach and Howard, and in fact had his offices in the same building as Howard, went to Alaska on a hunting expedition with Hajdukovich as guide in the fall of 1927. 35/ Finally, Beach persuaded Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., president of Mallinckrodt Chemical Works in St. Louis, to hire Hajdukovich as a guide for an expedition in the fall of 1929. 36/

Hajdukovich became fast friends with Beach, Endicott, and Mallinckrodt, a friendship that lasted for many years. These three men loaned money to Hajdukovich from time to time in the 1920s; and Beach and Endicott occasionally sold fox skins for Hajdukovich to friends in the East. 37/

Endicott subsequently wrote a book entitled Adventures in Alaska, which was published in 1928, recounting his hunting trip to Alaska in the fall of 1927. Most of the book was

devoted to describing his experiences with Hajdukovich in the Upper Tanana district. Endicott greatly admired Hajdukovich, declaring that a book could be written about this "Pioneer-prospector-hunter-trader-friend of the Indian-friend of the country; a wise, sane, clear-thinking man" who had "an extraordinary and accurate knowledge of the country." Endicott was impressed by the Indians that Hajdukovich employed on the hunting trip and his relationship with them. After hearing Hajdukovich's vivid description of a big potlatch at Healy River to which even the Indians of Copper Center attended, Endicott quoted him as saying: "I am doing my best in urging them to stop it. They really need their savings against bad years and old age. I hope these affairs will cease." 38/ Endicott thought that if any man could beneficially influence the Indians, "I am sure John Hajdukovich can." Hajdukovich and Endicott evidently talked a great deal about the Indians, for at one point in his book he wrote:

During the whole trip, it was always interesting, and instructive too, to see the way he talked to and treated the Indians. He understands them as well as, or better than, any man I ever met. Would that he might be in the councils of those at Washington and elsewhere who handle the Indian question! How invaluable would his advice and suggestions be! What steps forward might we take in Alaska

if only men like John could be a part of the active management of things. John Hajdukovich is an intelligent and thoughtful student of affairs in the interior of Alaska. He is indeed a big man. 39/

Endicott's words were almost prophetic.

Hajdukovich left Alaska for Seattle in early April 1930 with letters of introduction from John Singleton to relatives or friends in Burlingame and San Diego, California. One letter was addressed to U.S. Congressman W.C. Hawley from Oregon introducing Hajdukovich as one who "like myself is interested in the betterment and welfare of the Alaska Natives." 40/ This was Hajdukovich's first trip to the Outside in twenty-six years. Upon his arrival in Seattle, he was interviewed briefly by a reporter with the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. The newspaper carried a short biographical sketch about Hajdukovich in its issue of April 16, noting that he was leaving Seattle the following day for St. Louis, Boston, and New York to make arrangements for guiding big game hunting parties in 1931. 41/

By early May Hajdukovich reached St. Louis and met with Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr. Mallinckrodt on May 7 attempted to arrange a meeting with Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur and

Commissioner of Education Dr. William John Cooper on Friday, May 9. 42/ Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich succeeded in meeting with Wilbur on the morning of May 9 who in turn referred them to Ernest Walker Sawyer, the Secretary's Executive Assistant for Alaskan Affairs, and L.A. Kalbach, the Acting Commissioner of the Office of Education. Meeting with Sawyer and Kalbach on May 9 or May 10, Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich impressed upon the officials the need for aid for the Upper Tanana Indians, and presented them with a summary of recommendations as to what the Office of Education might do for the Indians, as well as a brief report by Hajdukovich on conditions of the Indians in the district. Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich made three recommendations: first, that a nurse be stationed at Tetlin; second, that a reservation by Executive Order for the Office of Education be established in the district; and third, a Government fur farm be established at Tetlin. In the matter of a nurse at Tetlin, Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich observed that the Upper Tanana Indians were without medical assistance at all. The Indians, numbering three hundred, had to travel more than two hundred miles to the nearest town if they desired medical attention. If a nurse was stationed at Tetlin, such cases as the death of nine children at Tanana Crossing due to "simple constipation," could have been avoided.

Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich described the boundaries of the proposed reservation as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Porcupine Creek, tributary to the Tanana from the north: Thence running in southerly direction to the top of Tetlin Hill where the old trail crossing is; thence following natural divide between tributaries of the Tetlin lakes and tributary to the Little Tok River to head of Bear Creek; then around head of Bear Creek to the old village above Last Tetlin; thence in northerly direction to the head of Ladue Creek; thence following divide between the tributaries to the Tanana and tributaries to Ladue Creek to head of Porcupine Creek and down to the mouth, place of beginning.

A "sketch map" showing the proposed boundaries was attached to the memorandum.

According to Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich, a reservation would make it possible to keep out certain white men who called themselves trappers but who were actually "professional gamblers," men who gambled with the Indians for their furs. The reservation would also prevent liquor from entering the area from Canada, and conversely might prevent the Upper Tanana Indians from going into other districts and learning how to

make liquor. The reservation would also safeguard certain trapping grounds for the use of the Indians, and allow them to build up the number of fur-bearing animals for a dependable harvest each year. At present, they argued, the fur-bearing animals were on the decline, forcing the Indians--men, women, and children--to go into the hills a distance of twenty-five or thirty-five miles to hunt caribou.)

Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich viewed the proposed fur farm as compatible with the Upper Tanana Indians' way of life. Unlike an industrial boarding school, which provided only a "book education," the fur farm if established near the Tetlin school would permit the children to spend much of the school day on the farm learning to raise fur-bearing animals. In addition, as one-half or more of the animals' diet consisted of vegetables, the children would learn how to raise gardens, thereby presenting an opportunity to encourage the children to eat vegetables for a more balanced diet. They estimated the cost of the fur farm at \$62,000. This included the expense of a portable sawmill, a tractor, farming implements, foxes, minks, and a boarding house with furnishings and clothes for thirty children for one year. After a period of four or five years, they predicted, the farm would be partially or completely self-sustaining from the sale of furs. 43/

In support of the recommendations, John Hajdukovich submitted a report on the Upper Tanana Indians, listing the names of all living at Nabesna, Tetlin, Last Tetlin, and Scottie Creek and vicinity, the number of dogs in each household, those persons who could speak, read, or write English and those who had attended school. According to Hajdukovich, the Indians were facing hard times. The Indians usually killed 4,000 to 7,000 caribou and probably 150 moose each year. For the past three years, however, the caribou failed to migrate through the area. This forced the Indians to rely more on fish and goods sold by the traders which they obtained in exchange for furs. The fur-bearing animals were becoming scarce, and so the Indians relied more and more on muskrat skins as a medium of trade. But now the lakes were drying up, and the muskrats were declining in numbers. With no employment opportunities in the isolated district, the Indians faced dark times unless the reservation was established. Repeating the benefits that the reservation would bring, Hajdukovich added that the Indians would feed their dogs less wild game and that the reservation would allow for the control of the potlatch. This custom, he wrote, cost the Indians annually \$10,000 to \$15,000. The Indians often deprived their women and children of food and clothing in order to save up for the ceremony. 44/

After meeting with government officials in Washington, Hajdukovich went to New York and Boston. In New York he visited William Beach and sent a message to Alaska Governor Parks, informing him that he had asked the Interior Department to assist the Upper Tanana Indians and that he intended to visit the Governor on his return to Alaska in June. 45/ In Boston he visited Endicott to discuss the latter's plans for a hunting trip to Alaska with General Robert E. Wood, president of Sears-Roebuck Company. Hajdukovich related his conversations with Interior Department officials and evidently expressed some doubt as to whether the officials would act on his proposals. For Endicott subsequently wrote a letter to Jeremiah Millbank of the Chase National Bank in New York to ask his assistance in obtaining a meeting between Hajdukovich and the President. Noting that Hajdukovich had met the Interior Secretary, the "Executive Secretary of the Interior" (probably Sawyer) and the Commissioner of Education (again, probably Kalbach), about the matter of a reservation in the Upper Tanana district, Endicott observed that "John's life is so seriously wrapped up with the dire need of these Natives that he is fearful that it may not appeal to these men in a vital light and the interest may simply fade away with not much of anything being done." The idea of a reservation was "an extraordinarily interesting subject," wrote Endicott; for Hajdukovich simply wanted the government to "establish a line, (call it what you

will), but not embody all the details and responsibilities of a reservation, simply a line that will designate the trapping rights for these Indians" and deter the influence of "bad whiskey, bootleggers, outside trappers, and such interests as prey upon the Indians." Hajdukovich believed too that it was "most necessary" for the government to establish a post office and provide for a nurse in the district. If these proposals were implemented, he believed that he could then raise sufficient capital to establish a fur farm, where the Indians could learn all that was required to start their own farms. 46/

As subsequent events proved, Hajdukovich's anxiety was unfounded. Millbank forwarded Endicott's letter to his friend, Lawrence Richey, the President's secretary, and asked him to use his discretion in deciding whether the President should see the letter and meet with Hajdukovich. Richey apparently showed the letters to the President, who directed him to send the letters to the Secretary of the Interior. On May 26, Secretary Wilbur acknowledged receipt of the letters, adding that "[w]e are going ahead with this proposal, which has been before the department for some days, and will shortly submit an Executive order to the President thereon." This news would surely have relieved Hajdukovich of any disappointment he may have felt over not meeting the President to discuss his dreams for the Upper Tanana Indians. 47/

More than a month passed before Hajdukovich learned of the fruits of his visit to Washington. Six days after the President signed Executive Order No. 5365, Hajdukovich was in St. Louis, where he sent a message (charged to Mallinckrodt Chemical Works) to General Wood to say that he planned to arrive in Chicago in the afternoon of June 17. 48/ From Chicago he continued his journey to Seattle where he obtained passage on a steamer to Alaska. On July 6, he arrived at Fairbanks.

The local newspaper heralded the return of the Alaska pioneer with a brief account of his trip. Hajdukovich revealed that he had traveled to the cities of Seattle, Butte, St. Louis, New York, Washington, Boston, and Chicago, and visited his friends and clients Beach, Endicott, and Mallinckrodt. He made no mention of his meetings with Interior Department officials in Washington, although he stated that it was his understanding that the Bureau of Education planned to send five tons of supplies for a school at Tetlin. The Tetlin Indians were constructing a building for use as a schoolhouse as well as a cabin for the use of a nurse that the Government was expected to send. Observing the recent completion of an aviation field at Tanana Crossing, Hajdukovich claimed that there was "considerable agitation" for a field at Tetlin which would not only facilitate economic developments in the district but also

allow for rapid transportation in the event of medical or other emergencies. Finally, he announced that Mallinckrodt donated \$5,000 for the purchase of a tractor, small sawmill, and farm equipment for the Tetlin Indians. He purchased the machinery in Seattle, and expected it to arrive soon. 49/

Several days later Hajdukovich returned to his home in Big Delta. On July 11, he was doubtlessly surprised and pleased to receive a telegram from H. Wendell Endicott informing him that President Hoover signed an order on June 10 reserving lands at Tetlin for the benefit of the Indians. 50/ About the same time Mallinckrodt in St. Louis received the same message in the form of a letter from Commissioner of Education Cooper. 51/

In retrospect, Hajdukovich's trip to the Nation's capital could not have been better timed. Officials of the Bureau of Education were familiar with the situation in the Upper Tanana district. In March 1930, they included Tetlin in a list of forty villages in each of which not more than forty-acre tracts of lands were reserved for educational purposes. In mid-March they received Earl J. Beck's detailed account of his trip through the Tanana and Copper River valleys. Before Hajdukovich's arrival, they had made arrangements to put John Singleton on the government payroll as a full-time teacher. 52/

The Interior Department responded to Hajdukovich's and Mallinckrodt's recommendation concerning an Indian reservation in the Upper Tanana district with surprising swiftness. On May 10, Kalbach prepared a two-page typewritten memorandum of Mallinckrodt's and Hajdukovich's recommendation for the reservation. The memorandum included a description of the area to be withdrawn that was more geographically specific than the one originally provided by Mallinckrodt and Hajdukovich. This area, to be reserved by Executive Order for the Office of Education, was described as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Porcupine Creek, tributary to the Tanana from the north; thence running in southwesterly direction to the crossing of the old trail on Tok River; thence following natural divide between tributaries of the Tetlin lakes and the tributary to the Little Tok River to head of Bear Creek; thence around head of Bear Creek following east bank of Kalutna River to the mouth; thence in northeasterly direction to head of tributaries of Ladue Creek; thence following divide between the tributaries to the Tanana and tributaries to Ladue Creek to head of southernmost tributaries of east fork of Porcupine Creek and then to place of beginning, as shown on accompanying sketch map.

The "sketch map" was almost certainly a copy of the U.S. Geological Survey's Topographic Reconnaissance Map of Upper Tanana Valley Region, Alaska (1922) on which the boundaries of the proposed reserve as described by Kalbach were depicted in pencil. Since the map depicted almost no geographic and cultural features south of the Tanana River in the Tetlin lakes area, someone obviously knowledgeable about the area (namely Hajdukovich) pointed out the location of Porcupine Creek, Tetlin Lake, Tetlin village, Last Tetlin village, the "Old Village above Last Tetlin" (situated just east of Kalukna River), and the main stem and tributaries of the Little Tok River, and these features were depicted on the map in pencil. The western boundary was shown as extending southwesterly in a straight line from a point identified in handwriting as the "mouth of Porcupine Creek" to a point on the Tok River about ten miles above its mouth and marked again in handwriting as the "old trail crossing." The eastern boundary generally followed the Kalukna River to the Tanana River and then extended to the peak of a mountain with an elevation of 3,330 feet. Interestingly enough, the map also shows an erased mark in the Tetlin Hills southeast of the Tok River which may be the location of the trail crossing of the Tetlin Hills mentioned in Mallinckrodt's and Hajdukovich's description of the proposed reserve boundary.

At the end of the document Kalbach added the following statement under his signature: "The creation of the reservation described in the above memorandum, submitted to the Commissioner of Education by Edward Mallinckrodt and John Hajdukovich, would safeguard the trapping grounds of the natives of the upper Tanana valley upon which they depend for means of support, protect them against unprincipled men, prevent the importation of liquor, and be an introductory step toward the establishment among them of the industry of fur farming." 53/

On the same day, Sawyer drafted a memorandum to Interior Secretary Wilbur transmitting Kalbach's May 10 memorandum, which, he claimed, "was prepared by the Bureau of Education and others with my assistance." Sent to the Secretary on May 12, Sawyer's memorandum suggested that the matter of the proposed reservation be referred to the Solicitor, E. C. Finney, for a legal opinion, and then an Executive Order be issued withdrawing the land for the Interior Department. Subsequently, the Interior Secretary would by regulation or order "give the Bureau of Education right to use the area for experimental vocational education, namely to permit them to locate fur farms, or Indians as fur farmers, and then perhaps ten years hence abolish the withdrawal and give the Indians the regular fur farm leases." At that time the General Land Office

would resume jurisdiction over the land, except the fur farm leases. He noted in passing that the "International Highway will go through there and prospectors also want to go thru there and prospect." 54/

Two days later, on May 14, E.K. Burlew, an Administrative Assistant to the Interior Secretary, transmitted the Sawyer and Kalbach memoranda to the Solicitor with a request for a legal opinion on the proposed reservation. Solicitor Finney provided the Secretary's office with a draft opinion sometime on or before May 26. The final opinion was not issued and approved by the Assistant Secretary, John H. Edwards, until May 29. Reviewing the pertinent statutes, case law, and Solicitors' opinions, Finney concluded that the proposed reservation was legally justifiable for the intended purposes. These purposes he described as follows: "It is proposed to reserve the area approximately 25 miles or more square to promote the interests of the natives by appropriate vocational training, to encourage and assist them in restocking the country and protecting the fur-bearing animals and to otherwise aid in their care and support." (Most of this statement was later incorporated in Executive Order No. 5365.) Finney found exception to Sawyer's proposal to abolish the reservation after a certain period, observing that such action would require the enactment of legislation by Congress. 55/

Upon reading the Solicitor's opinion in draft, Secretary Wilbur authorized Assistant Secretary Edwards to approve the opinion and forward the papers to the General Land Office with a request to prepare an appropriate Executive Order. The Land Office received Edward's request on June 2. A day later, Commissioner C. C. Moore sent to the Secretary of the Interior a form of Executive Order temporarily withdrawing certain lands in the Upper Tanana district. The description of the reserve boundaries was exactly the same as written in the Kalbach memorandum of May 10. Three days later, the Secretary of the Interior transmitted the order through the State Department to President Hoover with a recommendation that the order be approved. The President signed Executive Order No. 5365 on June 10, 1930. 56/

Interior Secretary Wilbur and Commissioner Moore received written notification of the President's action on June 12. Subsequently, on July 3, Moore sent copies of the Executive Order to Jeremiah Millbank of New York, the Commissioner of Education, the Chief of the Field Division and the Cadastral Engineer in Juneau, and the Register and Receiver in Fairbanks. No mention was made in the correspondence of a map showing the Reserve boundaries. 57/

Alaskans first learned of the issuance of the Executive Order in mid-July. Shortly after the order was signed, Ernest Walker Sawyer left Washington on an official trip to Alaska. Upon his arrival in Juneau, he announced the withdrawal of 625 square miles of land in the "Lake Tetlin" district, to be administered by the Bureau of Education for the purpose of Indian vocational training. Claiming credit for the idea, Sawyer stated that the plan was to use the reserved lands as a "training ground" in fur farming with the Tetlin schoolteacher providing instruction. He evidently anticipated some public opposition to the withdrawal for he conceded that Alaska Delegate Dan Sutherland opposed the reservation, fearing that it would lead to the establishment of similar reserves throughout the Territory. By failing to assuage this fear, Sawyer made a serious blunder. The press reported him as saying that the Interior Department would probably approve applications for similar land withdrawals if desired by the Natives. 58/

Sawyer's statement provoked a storm of protests. In September 1930 Carl F. Whitham, president of the Nabesna Mining Corporation, published an open letter in The Alaska Weekly calling the attention of Alaskans to "the biggest and rawest land sovereignty grabbing plan ever attempted by any autocratic bureau at Washington, D.C., and will if carried through as planned mean stagnation and decay of Alaska progress for all

time to come." Whitham claimed that the Reserve included more than 2,000 square miles of land, not 625 square miles as officially stated, and that much of this land was known to be mineral-bearing. Prospectors were working in that section in total ignorance of the recent withdrawal. Far too much land was withdrawn for the purpose intended, Whitham argued. Fur farming was an intensive industry, which in the Upper Tanana district where the costs of transportation were high and the supply of fish and game limited, required but ten square miles. In effect, the government had given the traders in the Tetlin area a monopoly of the fur trade.

Like most Alaskans, Whitham observed, he sympathized with the Indians and wanted to help them. However, the establishment of reservations was not the answer to the problems of the Indians. If 200 Tetlin Indians were entitled to 2,000 square miles of land, the remaining 35,000 Alaska Natives should be placed on 350,000 square miles of reservations in Alaska. It was very doubtful that there was this much land suitable or desirable for Indians, "but possibly we might buy some from Canada or else make another land deal with Russia." The Indians required assistance, and the establishment of vocational training schools was one possibility. Isolating the Indians on reservations, where they could not have personal contact and association with white men, was most certainly not the answer. 59/

Similar protests were voiced by other people. In late October the Juneau Empire came out in opposition to the Reserve with an editorial that raised the same objections as those of Whitham. 60/ In December 1930 the Mining Committee of the Cordova Chamber of Commerce issued a resolution denouncing the establishment of the Reserve as "a patent effort to make another and new kind of reservation in Alaska," one that was considered "to be an attack on the development of Alaska, and to make the prospector subject to a department, and to take away from him the benefit of the law." 61/ The Alaska Game Commission unanimously resolved "that the setting aside of large areas for the same purposes as the Tetlin Reservation is detrimental to the interests of the Territory and that it is believed the interests of the natives would be better served by the establishment of industrial schools and an increase of medical facilities and attention." 62/

On October 3, Governor Parks sent a copy of Whitham's article to E.K. Burlew, with a letter suggesting that the General Land Office detail a man to investigate and report on the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve in the summer of 1931. Whitham's article was "inaccurate in many respects," he wrote, and other protests were sure to follow. If it were made known that the General Land Office was to make an investigation with a view to establishing more definite boundaries and eliminating lands in

the Reserve not necessary for the purposes defined in the withdrawal order, these protests may be checked. 63/

Upon receipt of the Governor's letter, Burlew conferred with Commissioner Cooper in the Office of Education and found him in favor of the Governor's suggestions. He then conferred with Ernest Walker Sawyer who had just returned from his trip to Alaska. 64/ Sawyer was astonished by the fact that the Executive Order prohibited mining claim entries in the Reserve. Sawyer had been agitating for well over a year for the Interior Department to adopt a policy requiring agencies in the department to secure the comments of the Alaska Governor on all proposed withdrawals in Alaska. He had just compiled a list of public land withdrawals in Alaska with great difficulty, for, contrary to official procedures, some departments kept the Executive Orders rather than send them to the Department of the State. By Secretarial Order No. 460, issued on October 11, 1930, he succeeded in having all proposed executive orders relating to Alaska sent to the Governor of Alaska for comments and recommendations. He was to use the controversy surrounding the Tetlin Reserve in having proposed withdrawal orders originating in other departments sent to the Governor of Alaska for review. 65/

On October 22 Sawyer requested the General Land Office to determine the area of the Tetlin Reserve in square miles, and whether prospecting was permitted in the Reserve and under what conditions. According to his records, the Reserve was supposed to contain 625 square miles. And he recalled his meeting with Dr. Philip S. Smith of the Geological Survey in May, when they concluded "there was but slight chance of any mineral of consequence being found within the area." 66/ On October 25, following an examination of the U.S. Geological Survey's Topographic Reconnaissance Map of Upper Tanana Valley Region of 1922 that depicted in pencil the Reserve boundaries, the Land Office reported to Sawyer that the Reserve contained approximately 640 square miles and that "the right to prospect for, mine and remove" oil, coal, and other mineral deposits in the area was permitted under rules and regulations as the Secretary of the Interior may prescribe. No such regulations had been issued in the case of the Tetlin Reserve, however. 67/

Writing to Burlew on October 25, Sawyer claimed that the idea of the Tetlin Reserve "originated with me," and was approved by the General Land Office, Dr. Philip S. Smith of the Geological Survey, and Commissioner Cooper of the Office of Education. The papers were completed during his trip to Alaska and "were not in the same wording as [he] had suggested," for he intended prospecting to be permitted in the Reserve as it was in the

Mount McKinley National Park. Sawyer was confident that "if the final papers had been shown to me or to Governor Parks no doubt that point would have been raised." The Tetlin Reserve case was only another example where public land withdrawals in Alaska "should be handled in a more precise manner." Complaining that the Navy and the Biological Survey had "sneaked over" several withdrawals in Alaska, and that the departmental secretaries had handled withdrawal orders very informally, in some instances not even filing the records, Sawyer recommended that "all withdrawal orders relative to Alaska from all sources be referred to the Governor of Alaska for comment before they are signed by the President."

Insofar as Whitham's protest was concerned, Sawyer remarked that "a certain small group of Alaskans who resent all Federal activity and especially land withdrawals" would attack every withdrawal. The General Land Office reported that only 625 square miles of land was contained in the Reserve--not 2,000 square miles as Whitham maintained. If Whitham was correct in his statement that prospectors were working in the Reserve, "then it is news to Dr. Smith and to the traders of Tetlin." Sawyer claimed that he would be the first to object to the cessation of prospecting in the area if the Geological Survey reported it to be "a worthwhile or promising area." He

intended to send a memorandum describing the facts in the case to the Alaska Weekly for publication.

As concerns Governor Parks' letter of October 3, Sawyer argued that a Land Office investigation was "not at all warranted at present." He agreed that the size of the Reserve needed to be reduced but not until the vocational school had made progress and "then we will know what lakes and rivers are needed for fur farming." These areas could then be set aside as lease units, "and the other areas of the reservation released all at the same time." He suggested a period of two years before any such action be taken. By that time, too, it would be known as to how much the Mallinckrodt fund was going to advance in the project. Already, he noted, Mallinckrodt had spent \$5,000 there. 68/

Sawyer's recommendation regarding future withdrawal orders affecting Alaska was quickly put into effect. On October 27, 1930, Secretary of the Interior Wilbur recommended to the President that other departments adopt the Department of the Interior's policy of referring proposed withdrawal orders to the Governor of Alaska for comments and recommendations. The President agreed, and by the end of the year the Navy and Agriculture departments had endorsed the policy. 69/

During the month of November, Sawyer worked on a press release designed to counter the criticisms of Alaskans regarding the Tetlin Reserve. On November 8 he wrote Dr. Philip Smith of the U.S. Geological Survey requesting his opinion as to whether the Reserve included a mineralized area and whether prospectors were working in the area. 70/ Smith replied on November 13 that during the conference which he and Sawyer attended to discuss the proposed withdrawal, "the tentative boundaries of the reservation were laid down so that all areas judged to be mineral bearing were excluded" but it was understood "that provision was to be made to permit prospecting" in prospective mineral areas as a matter of principle. 71/

Less than a month later, on November 18, Sawyer completed a memorandum for the General Land Office file on the Tetlin Reserve summarizing his research on points raised by the Alaska newspapers and attached documents supporting his case. These included copies of his correspondence with the General Land Office and Dr. Smith dated October 22 and November 8, and their respective replies of October 25 and November 13. On the basis of the information provided by the Land Office, Sawyer concluded that the Reserve contained "without a doubt very close to 640 square miles" and the area withdrawn was "shown very distinctly on various maps and particularly on the map which I attach to this file." While it was true that

prospecting was not permitted in the Reserve except under special regulations, the Geological Survey claimed that the Reserve did not include prospective mineral areas and to the best of knowledge no prospectors were working in the area. These two points were considered earlier, claimed Sawyer: "Both Dr. Phillip [sic] Smith and I examined these points carefully at the time the original papers were drawn up. We both approved of the boundaries because we were advised and still understand the area is not at all promising for prospectors and no prospectors should waste time in such areas where there are a hundred others where real opportunities occur." Nevertheless, both he and Smith were in agreement "that no interference should be made on the reservation to the rights of prospecting." Sawyer criticized the Land Office for including language in the order that tended to restrict the activities of prospectors in the Reserve, language to which he and Smith would have had objection if they had not been in Alaska at the time that the papers for the withdrawal were prepared. The order was, in his opinion, another example of the problems that arise whenever Washington acted upon land withdrawals in Alaska without first consulting with the Governor. 72/

On the same day Sawyer requested the General Land Office to draw up rules and regulations for prospecting in the Reserve. These should be the same as apply on ordinary public lands in

Alaska. Once prepared, the papers should be sent to him so that he may obtain the comments of the Geological Survey, Office of Education, and the Alaska Governor before presenting them to the Secretary of the Interior. 73/ On November 29, the General Land Office provided Sawyer with a sample letter from the Secretary to the Commissioner of the Land Office applying the general mining regulations of April 11, 1922 to the Reserve. 74/ The letter was reviewed by Dr. Smith, Commissioner Cooper, and L.A. Kalbach. None had significant comments. 75/

In early December Burlew contacted Governor Parks on the matter. The Governor asked that the "regulations be made at earliest practicable date" and again requested that the General Land Office make an investigation with a view to eliminating lands from the Reserve not necessary for the purpose of the order. Finally, on December 16, Secretary of the Interior Wilbur informed the General Land Office that "the general mining regulations approved April 11, 1922, Circular 430 (49 L.D. 15), in so far as they apply to the Territory of Alaska, are prescribed as the rules and regulations governing prospecting for, mining and removing the minerals in said area of the kinds subject to location under the United States Mining Laws." 76/

Sawyer's success in opening up the Tetlin Reserve to prospectors and miners and in having most future proposed land withdrawals in Alaska reviewed by the Governor was welcomed by Alaskans, but it was not enough to curtail public criticism of the Reserve. In his press release of November 19, Sawyer attempted to cast the Reserve in the best possible light even if it meant altering the facts somewhat. Pointing out that the reserve was only temporary in nature, Sawyer falsely claimed that the General Land Office estimated that the Reserve included 625 square miles of land--a figure he first used in his public announcement in Juneau in July. About half of this area would eventually be leased to individual Indian fur farmers, and the remainder would undoubtedly be returned to public domain. He noted that the ordinary fur farm lease under the Interior Department was 640 acres on the mainland and 12,200 acres on several islands, and that only twenty-five leases of this nature had been issued in Alaska; and that the Interior Department had reserved much less land in Alaska than had the Departments of Agriculture and the Navy. 77/

In a letter dated November 20 to Major Malcolm Elliott, president of the Alaska Road Commission, Sawyer enclosed a copy of his press release for the officer's use in explaining to Alaska miners, particularly Carl Whitham, that their interests were not affected by the Reserve. The Reserve was "a long way

from the Nabesna mining district," he wrote. "This reservation is mainly a group of lakes lying between Tok River and Kalukna River. It is about 20 miles northeast of Mentasta Pass to the Southern edge of the reservation and the eastern boundary of the reservation is about 25 miles down stream from the mouth of the Nabesna." 78/

Several Alaska newspapers published Sawyer's statement in early December. While applauding Sawyer's efforts to open up the Reserve to mining and prospecting, the newspapers remained critical of the Reserve as setting a possible precedent for the establishment of other Native reserves in Alaska. The Juneau Empire in an editorial that was reprinted in the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner viewed the establishment of the Reserve as being unnecessary, for the Government could have issued the Indians leases for the lands needed for fur farms. Moreover, the Reserve appeared to be contrary to the Government's policy not to establish Indian reservations. By making the land withdrawal, the Government set a dangerous precedent for similar reserves could be created throughout the Territory and thereby "tie up" resources that needed to be developed. 79/ The Cordova Daily Times reiterated these views, perceiving in the manner that the Reserve was created a "growing menace in Alaska of having any or all of the various departments make reservations of the entire territory." Moreover, the newspaper

claimed that the purpose of the Reserve was impracticable. Citing a letter written by the Reverend E.A. McIntosh of St. Matthew's Episcopal Mission at Fairbanks, the newspaper observed that John Hajdukovich was attempting to concentrate the Upper Tanana Indians at Tetlin. According to McIntosh, this was a desirable, but impracticable, idea. He pointed out, for example, that there was an old feud between the Indians of Tetlin and Tanana Crossing that would cause trouble if the Indians were to live together at Tetlin. 80/

When the article was reprinted in the Fairbanks newspaper, McIntosh felt compelled to write an explanation of his views about the Reserve. He appreciated the purpose of the Reserve in protecting "the native people in their ancient hunting, trapping and fishing rights in the district, and secure the same to them, undisturbed by the encroachments of outsiders," but considered Hajdukovich's attempt to concentrate the Indians at Tetlin to be "a physical and economic impossibility." "It is practically impossible for the native people in this country to settle in any large sized community as their moral, physical, and economic welfare is best served by their being more widely distributed so as to cover a larger area with their hunting, fishing and trapping, and so not deplete the game in any one locality as it has been done to some extent at Tanana Crossing," he explained. As an alternative to the

establishment of reserves, McIntosh suggested the adoption of the Alaska Game Commission's plan to register traplines in the Territory. This plan, if modified so as to allow the Natives to choose first among the lines to be registered and to prohibit the transfer of registered lines from Natives to non-Natives, would in McIntosh's opinion help to preserve the Native's opportunities to continue their subsistence lifestyle and thereby obviate the need for additional reserves similar to the one at Tetlin. 81/

Sawyer obtained a copy of McIntosh's letter to the Fairbanks newspaper editor and liked the idea of registering traplines so much that he included the suggestion into his own concept of the proposed fur farm at Tetlin. Unlike McIntosh, however, he believed that the Reserve was still necessary to protect the Natives' hunting, fishing, and trapping rights. As he noted in a letter to Irving McK. Reed of the Alaska Game Commission, the Indians tended to use a number of traplines through the years as the fur-bearing population dictated. After a line had been trapped for a winter or two, the Indians moved to another line so as to allow for the natural increase of fur-bearers along the first line. When, however, they desired to trap the line again, they found that a white trapper had already laid claim to it. According to Sawyer, the solution to this problem was to establish a reserve and to teach the Indians how to operate

a fur farm. The reserve would serve to exclude white trappers from the Indians' traditional trapping grounds and the fur farm would enable the Indians to earn a stable income from the sale of furs. Once the farm yielded a stable income, the Indians could be issued fur farm leases and receive registered traplines. 82/

Despite the best of intentions, Sawyer and other officials were never able to commit the Government in the development of a fur farm industry at Tetlin. Given the limited available information, it appears that Hajdukovich and Mallinckrodt intended to operate and maintain a fur farm and "boarding house" at Tetlin with funds raised mostly from private sources. They desired the Government to provide technical assistance and "seed" money for the project. The Bureau of Education was expected to provide overall direction to the project.

Prior to the issuance of Executive Order No. 5365, Government officials took some steps toward developing plans for the Tetlin fur farm. On May 20, the Bureau of Education sent a memorandum to Sawyer in which it proposed to develop a fur-farming industry in the Upper Tanana district along a plan similar to the one adopted at the inception of the reindeer industry for the Alaska Eskimos. Singleton, the school-

teacher, might be placed in charge of a number of foxes and entrusted to distribute the animals to the most promising Indians under agreements somewhat similar to those issued to apprentices in the reindeer service. While the Bureau had no available funds to initiate such an industry, it suggested that the Biological Survey might be willing to provide foxes. Also, it noted that Mallinckrodt was soliciting funds from private sources in aid of the Indians. 83/

Upon his return to Washington, Sawyer in early November pressed for action on the proposed fur farm project. In a letter to Commissioner Cooper, he wrote that he had met John Hajdukovich in Fairbanks and asked him to visit the commissioner in the fall to relate his progress in a plan to raise \$60,000 from Mallinckrodt or the "Rosenwaldt fund" for the project. Sawyer added that he had already suggested to the Bureau of Education that Hajdukovich be put on the government payroll at a dollar a year in order "to keep things in the clear in Tetlin until further developments." Also, he attached a letter dated August 2 from Hajdukovich, in which the trader confessed that after their meeting in May, he and Mallinckrodt were not certain that the President would create the reserve. Mallinckrodt donated \$5,000 for Hajdukovich's use in purchasing a portable sawmill, a tractor, and farming implements with which to break ground for a small farm at Tetlin that fall. He

planned to take a ton of potatoes for seed to Tetlin the next spring. Reminding Sawyer of his and Mallinckrodt's plans to raise about \$60,000 for a fur farm and a boarding house at Tetlin if the reserve was created, and of their request to have a nurse stationed at Tetlin, Hajdukovich informed him that they expected to raise the funds during the winter and planned to meet with the Office of Education to work out the plans to their mutual satisfaction. 84/

Evidently Cooper responded on November 11 with advice that his office could provide \$4,000 for the proposed fur farm, for Sawyer urged that the money be used under the supervision of the Tetlin schoolteacher to construct pens and to purchase five pairs of mink. "Even Governor Parks who is against the reservation believes the \$4,000 can be used to advantage," he added. Nevertheless, the Governor, the Biological Survey, and the Alaska Game Commission should be consulted for advice only. Sawyer recommended that Cooper's office prepare instructions and regulations for apprentices, gather information about foxes, minks, and the like, and permit someone in the Bureau, Hajdukovich, or the Tetlin schoolteacher to initiate preliminary construction of structures needed on the farm until additional funds were made available and an "instructor caretaker" was appointed. In this connection Sawyer suggested that Cooper's office "start at once to get

funds for 3 or 5 years' operation." He thought \$5,000 to \$6,000 should be obtained for 1931 and perhaps an additional \$4,000 to \$5,000 for other buildings and stock. 85/

No action was taken on Sawyer's recommendations. The reasons are not clear, but it is probable that the Bureau of Education decided that Congressional authority was required before funds could be devoted to the fur farm project. Nevertheless, the Bureau succeeded in taking action on another of Hajdukovich's long-standing requests. Through the intercession of the Commissioner of Education, the Post Office Department developed plans for the establishment of a post office at Tetlin. The Governor of Alaska gave his lukewarm approval to the plan, and so on December 16, 1930 John A. Singleton was appointed the postmaster at Tetlin, which position he held until August 31, 1942. 86/

Both Mallinckrodt and Endicott continued to press through the Interior Secretary's office for increased activity on the part of the Bureau of Education in the new Reserve. In early January 1931 Mallinckrodt visited E.K. Burlew to discuss the needs of the Upper Tanana Indians. He requested that a nurse be assigned temporarily to the area; that a "fairly large school and dormitory" be constructed at Tetlin; that a fur farm also be established; and finally, that John Hajdukovich be

employed in some capacity, even at a nominal salary, by the Government. Burlew informed Mallinckrodt that it might be possible to assign a nurse to the area, but that the other proposals might require some form of Congressional action. Burlew was not sure of the correctness of his advice, and so sent a summary of his discussion with Mallinckrodt to Commissioner Cooper with a request for comments. 87/

Upon his return from a hunting trip with John Hajdukovich on the upper Tanana River, Endicott also wrote to the Secretary of the Interior requesting any information as to the progress of the department's plans for the Upper Tanana Indians and encouraging the secretary to take action on behalf of the Indians. Endicott observed that "Hajdukovich has in the past done much for the education [of the Indians] and has been and is today helpful to an extraordinary degree in simple medical aid, but [he] is not a man of means, and can in a broad way do but little" for the welfare of the Indians. He suggested that the department include among its plans to initiate a fur farming industry in the area the possibility of educating the Indians in agriculture as well. By raising certain vegetables for the fur farm, the Indians would naturally acquire a knowledge of raising vegetables for their own use. The establishment of the Reserve, he concluded, was a "substantial step forward," "the basis for real progress," and "the first

real hope that these Indians have had." If Hajdukovich's plans were implemented and proved successful, "such plans might easily be in one way or another the solving of some of the difficult problems that the Government and Alaska must be facing in the condition of the far outlying Indian settlements dotted here and there throughout Alaska." 88/

Secretary Wilbur responded to the queries of Mallinckrodt and Endicott, advising them that his office was awaiting a report from Alaska to support a request for an appropriation to initiate fur-farming in the Reserve. To Endicott, he wrote that the field service in Alaska had already been asked to consider the possibility of securing some sort of appointment for John Hajdukovich, one that "would give him a measure of authority in connection with the work among the natives in the Upper Tanana region." He indicated that he would keep Endicott advised of developments in the matter. 89/

Upon receiving Burlew's memorandum of January 14, Commissioner Cooper wrote the Alaska Division of the Office of Education to ask whether it was possible to appoint John Hajdukovich as an assistant teacher, thereby allowing him to take charge of the proposed fur farm industry and to carry through his plans to promote the general welfare of the Indians. Cooper noted that the Bureau's appropriation for 1931 and its estimates for 1932

did not contain any item to cover the expense of fur farming in the Reserve, and doubted whether language in the appropriation would permit its use in supporting such industry. Perhaps, he suggested, the farm could be started with funds that Hajdukovich had stated could be secured by him. The Biological Survey may cooperate with Hajdukovich and provide technical advice as well. 90/

The response of the Alaska Division to Cooper's memorandum is unknown. Possibly the office recommended a field investigation in the Upper Tanana district, for in late spring of 1931 Dr. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., the Director of Education in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, made plans to travel to Tetlin. These plans may have been the result of Mallinckrodt's, Endicott's and Sawyer's entreaties for some form of government action on the proposed fur farm. Sawyer in particular lost no time in bringing the fur farm proposal to the attention of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Shortly after Secretary Wilbur ordered the transfer of education, medical, and relief administrative matters pertaining to Alaska Natives from the Office of Education to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Sawyer wrote to J. Henry Scattergood, the Assistant Commissioner, with the "hope something definite can be done on establishment of the native fur farm at Tetlin. We were six months late with the plan when the deal was turned over to you." Sawyer urged

Scattergood to take some action on the proposal, for then Mallinckrodt, General Robert E. Wood, and the Rosenwaldt fund would provide \$35,000 or more for improvements in the district. He envisioned the government playing only a minor role in the project, suggesting to Scattergood that his office employ John Hajdukovich at \$1 a year, prepare instructions on the rudiments of fur farming, particularly in mink, fox, and muskrat, outline an apprenticeship system along the lines used in the reindeer service, and identify the types of model pens desired at Tetlin and the kinds of animals needed to start the project. He expressed confidence that either Mallinckrodt would purchase the animals or local people would loan them. Insofar as the proposed boarding school at Tetlin was concerned, Sawyer recommended instead that it be located near Fairbanks where hospitals and cheaper supplies were available.

91/

Evidently it was Mallinckrodt who persuaded Dr. Ryan to commit himself to a trip to the Upper Tanana district. Mallinckrodt had planned to travel to Washington in early May to discuss his ideas on the Government's role in the Upper Tanana district, but Secretary Wilbur arranged for Dr. Ryan to visit Mallinckrodt in St. Louis on April 30. Several days after the meeting Mallinckrodt wrote the Secretary that he and Ryan "went over the matter in considerable detail and apparently to his

satisfaction." He urged the Secretary "to make some gesture of assistance to John in his efforts as he is at the end of his rope, the remainder of the funds over and above the cost of the sawmill having been exhausted in the purchase of supplies for the Indians. The sawmill, however, is apparently erected just outside the reservation and the people ought to be able to secure boards for their cabin floors." 92/ Subsequently, on May 5 Ryan wrote to John Hajdukovich at Mallinckrodt's suggestion to ask whether it was possible for him to visit Tetlin sometime in late July when he would be in Alaska with a Congressional committee. He noted that he had spent several hours with Mallinckrodt on April 30, discussing conditions at Tetlin and the plan to teach the Indians fur farming. He assured Hajdukovich that "[w]e are very much interested in the Tetlin situation, particularly with regard to the fur-farm project and the health conditions." 93/

All the while Hajdukovich was being kept informed by Mallinckrodt and Endicott of developments in Washington. Writing to Mallinckrodt from Big Delta in April 1931, shortly before his departure for Tetlin to oversee the Indians' garden planting, Hajdukovich said that he received a letter from Endicott enclosing copies of his correspondence with Interior Secretary Wilbur. He was "very glad to know that the Secretary of the Interior [was] getting friendly toward our proposals"

and that a school was soon to be established at Tanana Crossing. Conditions in the Upper Tanana district were getting worse, he reported. During a recent trip to Big Gerstle River, he saw many wolf signs and believed that wolves had killed several hundred moose and many sheep during the winter. This meant hard times for the Indians. He hoped that the Camp Fire Club of America would follow through with plans to investigate and report on the wolf problem in the district, as the Alaska Game Commission appeared to be doing nothing to control the predators. He suggested to Mallinckrodt that two or three cows be shipped to Tetlin for the benefit of the children. He had already purchased a machine to cut hay, which was plentiful near the village.

In addition, Hajdukovich asked Mallinckrodt to approve his plans to relocate the sawmill in the district. He enclosed a small sketch or map showing the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve and the proposed site of the mill, which he described as the largest American portable sawmill on the market. The proposed site was not located in the Reserve, which in any case contained "very little sow [sic] logs." The location of the mill would allow all Indians in the district to use the mill under proper supervision and without fear of any "Red Tape" if it were located in the Reserve. Besides the location was the only suitable one, for the logs had to be cut far up the river

and floated to a slough until they were ready to be sawed. Asking Mallinckrodt to send a telegram if he believed the proposed site satisfactory, Hajdukovich invited his benefactor to visit Tetlin in the summer of 1931. Already, he said, people were calling Tetlin the "Mallinckrodt Ranch." 94/

Hajdukovich evidently received several telegrams from Mallinckrodt concerning the sawmill site and Dr. Ryan's proposed trip to Tetlin, for upon his return to Fairbanks in late June, he wired Mallinckrodt that the sawmill was set up and that he sawed lumber for a frame structure to protect the mill and a tractor. He reported too that he had constructed a one-hundred-foot bridge across Tetlin River, and plowed three acres of ground for potatoes and vegetables at Tetlin and two acres of ground at Tanana Crossing. As concerns Dr. Ryan's trip to Tetlin, Hajdukovich stated that he was prepared to take him by boat to Tetlin. Since, however, it would take seventy hours running time to reach Tetlin but only twenty hours to come down, he recommended that Ryan take an airplane to Tetlin Lake. Hajdukovich would meet him there, and take him to the various Indian settlements on the river. 95/ Mallinckrodt relayed the message to Washington, and on July 6, J. Henry Scattergood, the Assistant Commissioner, wired Hajdukovich to make arrangements for Ryan's trip by airplane from Fairbanks to Tetlin Lake. 96/

The only available details concerning Ryan's trip to the Upper Tanana district come from a Fairbanks newspaper reporter who interviewed Ryan upon his return from the district.

Accompanied by John Hajdukovich and Dr. J.A. Sutherland during the trip, Ryan was clearly impressed by the Tetlin Indians. He was quoted as saying that "[t]he Tetlin Indian group is one of the most interesting groups of Indians I have seen anywhere in Alaska or in the States" and expressed his belief that they and other Indians in the district had a better chance for economic development than many living in the States. Upon their arrival at Tetlin, they found flags of welcome on a new bridge recently built by Hajdukovich from lumber cut by his sawmill seven miles above the village and the Indians engaged in drying whitefish for use during the winter. They met Chief Pete Joe who, according to Ryan, "is very zealous in guarding the food supply so it will last through the winter."

Ryan was hopeful that a resident nurse could be stationed in the district; he was less confident about the future of the proposed fur farm project, stating only that an investigation of the matter would be made. Ryan said that for the most part health conditions in the district were excellent.

Dr. Sutherland, the first physician to visit the district in six years, held clinics at Tetlin, Tanana Crossing, and Healy River, and visited the homes of the sick. A few cases of

tuberculosis were found, which Ryan attributed to an inadequate diet and the lack of milk. Nevertheless, he praised Singleton's work with the Indians, particularly his success with the Indians' gardens. Observing that health conditions at Tanana Crossing were not as good, Ryan intimated that this situation should change soon once a nurse was stationed in the area and the wife of the Reverend E.A. McIntosh opened school in the village that winter. 97/

Upon his return to Washington, Ryan made arrangements to station a nurse at Tetlin and looked into the possibility of employing John Hajdukovich in some capacity. However, the fact that Hajdukovich had resumed trade in the district, worked against him in this regard. Apparently responding to another query from Mallinckrodt on the subject, Ryan wrote in March 1932 that the Office of Indian Affairs could not pursue plans "to employ John Hajdukovich at a nominal salary to direct the fur farming industry among the natives of the Tetlin region for the reason that the regulations for the Alaska School Service prohibit any employee from engaging in trade for private gain. 98/ Mallinckrodt acknowledged receipt of Ryan's letter and requested a meeting with the director although he admitted that he had "nothing very definite in mind" to discuss with him. In any case, he desired to be kept informed of developments in the Tetlin area. Ryan replied that he intended to make another

trip to Alaska soon, and would inform Mallinckrodt of any news upon his return. 99/

Ryan's trip to the Upper Tanana district resulted in Hajdukovich leaving Alaska for New York and Washington, D.C. in August 1932. Meeting with Ryan, Hajdukovich encouraged the director to station a nurse at Tetlin, to provide employment opportunities for the Indians, and to permit the Indians to own reindeer on an experimental basis. According to Hajdukovich, the Indians might be employed in constructing a trail along the base of Chisana Mountain near the mouth of the Tetlin River and in improving the existing trail between Tok River, Tetlin, and Nabesna. The new trail would be about six miles in length; the existing Tok River-Nabesna trail was about thirty-eight miles.

His plan concerning the reindeer was something of an afterthought. After his interview with Ryan, Hajdukovich went to New York where he wrote a letter to the director suggesting the purchase of ten reindeer for use at Tetlin. He said that he would persuade the Indians to buy the reindeer if the government agreed to transport the animals to Fairbanks without charge. He would then transport the reindeer to Tetlin at his own expense. His plan was to have the Indians use the reindeer as a substitute to dogs in the transportation of their camping outfits to the spring trapping grounds. If the experiment

proved successful, the Indians would spend less time in gathering food for their dogs, and thus would have more time to hunt and fish for food for themselves and to trap fur-bearing animals. The Indians should be the sole owners of the reindeer, he wrote; the extension of the reindeer service to Tetlin would prove to be a disaster. "In other words," he wrote, "let's try to get Indians of the Upper Tanana to get on their feet, working things out partly their own way, and prove to them that they have to think and save today for tomorrow."

100/

The reaction of the Office of Indian Affairs to the reindeer proposal is unknown. Insofar as the other proposals were concerned, the Bureau's actions resulted in mixed success. A nurse was stationed at Tetlin beginning with the winter of 1932-33. The Bureau attempted to secure funds for the improvement of the Tanacross-Nabesna trail, justifying the proposal with the argument that the nurse needed to travel over the winter trail to visit all the Upper Tanana settlements. Apparently the funds were never allotted. And finally, in the fall of 1933, the Bureau of Indians approved the expenditure of \$6,600 for the construction of a new school building at Tetlin. 101/

After 1932, when he resumed trading with the Upper Tanana Indians, Hajdukovich evidently ceased in his efforts for Government assistance in the establishment of a fur-farm industry in the district, for there is no mention of the proposed project in his or Mallinckrodt's correspondence in later years. He continued to have a strong interest in the welfare of the Indians, however. From time to time he wrote Mallinckrodt describing his plans to help put the Indians on an economically self-sufficient basis. In the late summer of 1933, for example, he described to Mallinckrodt his idea of the Indians of Healy, Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna organizing on a "community basis" as the Indians at Metlakatla did years ago under the leadership of Father Duncan. The Indians would "have one general store or post from which all goods and merchandise is to be dispensed to the Natives in return for their fur, snowshoes, dressed skins and such other marketable merchandise as is created by their industry." In Hajdukovich's mind, this community organization would not only encourage "thrift [and] industry and stimulate a personal interest in the general affairs concerning them and their children" but also help relieve the Indians of their debt of \$25,000 to him. It was important to Hajdukovich that the Indians give greater attention to their future. For the past twelve years they earned about \$80,000 annually from their trapping activities. The trader made an estimated \$250,000 in

profits during the same period from this industry. The Indians spent about \$125,000 a year on potlatch celebrations and the balance "was squandered in manners too numerous to mention, with no thought of the future." If the organization could be financed, Hajdukovich was prepared to sell his holdings in the district for a reasonable sum and perhaps even supervise the organization for awhile. 102/

During the 1930s Hajdukovich continued to trade with the Indians, and consequently exercised a powerful influence over their affairs. According to John B. Dorsh of Tanana Crossing, the Indians of the Tetlin district were "the best conservationists" he had met for many years, never killing a female fowl or animal. He quoted Chief Peter as saying: "better to killum forty males than one female." 103/ The Indians killed mostly muskrat, as the Alaska Game Commission at the advice of John Hajdukovich, closed the district to the taking of beaver from 1933 to 1946. 104/ Hajdukovich also attempted to have the Game Commission change the regulations on marten and muskrat hunting. He recommended that the marten season for the drainage of the Tanana River above the Volkmar River be opened for the season of 1932, inasmuch as Canadian trappers were catching marten from the upper Tanana area and running them through to Canada. 105/ Sometime later he recommended that the Game Commission allow muskrat hunting in

November in the Upper Tanana district "under the supervision of some local resident or other conscientious person." He reported that the Indians lost \$4,000 to \$5,000 in muskrat pelts each year owing to the fact that the small lakes in the area froze to the bottom four winters out of five on an average. Under proper supervision, the Indians could trap these small lakes in November, leaving the large lakes for the spring trapping season. On July 9, 1938, Hajdukovich was appointed to the Alaska Game Commission in the Fourth Division. For the next six years, he was in a position to protect the conditions of the Upper Tanana Indians by making recommended changes in the regulations covering hunting and trapping. 106/

These were profitable years for the Upper Tanana Indians and the traders. Fur prices were low but the Indians killed large numbers of fur-bearers. According to one report, the muskrat catch in the vicinity of Nabesna and Tetlin in 1938 was about 28,000 skins. 107/ So many muskrats were caught that Hajdukovich succeeded in obtaining an emergency mail contract from the Post Office Department. In February 1939, John A. Singleton informed the Post Office Department that both traders at Tetlin would take their June mail (that is, muskrat pelts) in their own boats to Fairbanks. The traders would have preferred to send the skins over the mail route to Big Delta

but could not do so owing to the fact that the regular monthly mail was limited to five hundred pounds and they had about two tons of mail. The department approved the request, letting a contract to Hajdukovich to transport one way not more than five thousand pounds of mail at eight cents a pound from Tetlin to Big Delta during the period May 20 to about June 20. The emergency contract for Route 78028 was reissued to Hajdukovich on the same terms in 1940 and again in 1941. 108/

During this period of prosperity, federal policies regarding the Indians in Alaska were changing. With the passage of the Alaska Reorganization Act in June 1936, Alaska Native groups were allowed to adopt constitutions and charters of incorporation. With the help of Bureau of Indian Affairs' officials villages established trading posts under the authority of the Alaska Native Industries Cooperative Association which borrowed money from a revolving credit fund. The Act also authorized the Secretary of the Interior officially to create reservations on public lands occupied by Indian groups. The Roosevelt Administration used this authority to create six reservations in Alaska in an attempt to secure Native title to public land.

The intense competition between the Upper Tanana traders and the introduction of liquor into the district by some of the

traders, caused the Upper Tanana Indians to appeal for reservations and cooperative stores under the Indian Reorganization Act. As early as 1937, the Reverend E.A. McIntosh of Tanacross notified Claude M. Hirst, the Director of Education of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska, that "[t]here is quite a discussion here among our people over the Tetlin Reservation and in order to set them right I would like to have a copy of the Proclamation [Executive Order No. 5365]."^{109/} Nearly a year later, on January 21, 1938, at the request of some of the "most progressive Indians from each village" in the district, Hajdukovich wrote to Mallinckrodt for his assistance in having the Tetlin Reserve enlarged to include all villages in the district from a point below Tanana Crossing to the International Boundary. "It would not be necessary to include the hills and creeks," he wrote: "[s]imply Tanana River flats to the foothills on both sides." Enclosing a copy of Executive Order No. 5365 and reminding Mallinckrodt of their discussions about the Indians in Whitehorse in September 1937, Hajdukovich argued that a larger reserve was needed in order to discourage traders from importing liquor into the district. Prior to 1932 it had been the traders' policy to keep liquor away from the Indians. Afterwards certain traders secretly shipped liquor to all the villages. Hajdukovich had Herman Kessler particularly in mind. In 1932, he claimed, Kessler shipped three tons of

goods and liquor to Nabesna, the only village where he traded. Five years later, he shipped fifty tons into the district and was trading at all of the villages. "I was always against liquor being given to the Indians [sic]," wrote Hajdukovich. Once he was "perfectly satisfied" that the traders were in fact providing liquor to the villages, he appealed to the proper authority for action in controlling the traders. He received no support and so resigned his position as U.S. Commissioner in 1936. This proved to be a mistake. "After my resignation they were not afraid of me and so liquor was dished out more freely," he confessed. Nevertheless, he believed that a larger reserve would easily discourage the traders and, if the government provided a loan, the Indians could buy the traders' holdings in the district and establish cooperative stores of their own. 110/

Perhaps at Mallinckrodt's prompting, the American Association on Indian Affairs, Inc. of New York in September 1938 sent an investigator named Morris Burge to survey social and economic conditions in the Upper Tanana district. Accompanied by Hajdukovich, Burge traveled by car from Fairbanks to Big Delta, by airplane to Tanana Crossing, and thence by boat to Tetlin, from which place he conducted most of his work. Covering in his lengthy report the subjects of liquor control, medical and educational needs, and the economy, customs, and trapping

activities of the Indians, Burge recommended that the "game reserve" at Tetlin be enlarged to include Tanana Crossing, Nabesna, and adjoining villages, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs play a greater role in the Indians' affairs, particularly in their efforts to keep liquor out of the district, that educational and medical services be provided to the Nabesna Indians, that a physician make periodic visits to the various villages, and finally that an educational program more suitable to the Indians' economic and social lifestyle be developed and adopted in the district.

At the time of Burge's visit, the Upper Tanana villages were still free of the many harmful influences of white civilization. Only two traders maintained posts at all three villages (Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna) in the district. Trade goods were expensive, which Burge attributed to high transportation costs; otherwise competition between the two traders tended to stabilize the prices for trade goods and furs. The traders usually advanced credit towards the end of autumn; one trader estimated the annual credit at between \$2,000 and \$3,000. Also a few white trappers and a former schoolteacher (probably Singleton), who was working for the Tetlin trader, were in the district. Only two white trappers, both at Tanana Crossing, lived and trapped in the area. One, married to an Indian, was apparently accepted by the Indians in

general. The other one recently started to trade with the Indians in addition to trapping himself; some Indians claimed that he was trapping too near their traplines but they did not seem anxious to take any action against him. So far as Burge could see, the white trappers and traders were not a threat to the Indians' fur economy.

Neither had liquor become a problem. According to the local residents, white and Indian, very little whiskey was consumed in the district, although there had been cases of Indians obtaining whiskey from whites and a few instances of home-distilling. Burge credited this situation to the efforts of the Tetlin trader and the general attitude of the Indians, and found reason to believe that the Indians may avoid "the distress that has come to other Indians of the Interior from this source." He believed, nevertheless, that the Bureau of Indian Affairs should support the Indians in their efforts to exclude liquor from the district. For example, while in Juneau he noted that the Indian Office received a petition requesting that no license be issued for the sale of liquor in the Upper Tanana villages. The Indian Office should write to the judge considering the license application in support of the petition for in the past the judges sometimes issued licenses over the protests of the Natives.

Given the experiences of other Interior Alaska villages with liquor and competition with white trappers, Burge recognized that sooner or later the Indians of the Upper Tanana would have to confront similar experiences. Already airplanes were increasing in use, principally by traders and government officials. With time and improved transportation services, whites would enter the Upper Tanana district. In Burge's view, the Upper Tanana Indians could not withstand this onslaught. In the first place he believed that the district could not support additional trappers, especially white trappers who with terrible efficiency attempted to obtain the greatest number of pelts in the shortest possible time. Trapping was the "basis of the economic life of the Upper Tanana Indians"; its destruction meant almost certainly a catastrophic effect upon the Indians' society. Muskrats were the most plentiful fur-bearers in the district and contributed the largest part of the Indians' income. Burge estimated the annual cash income per family head at \$2,000, families usually averaging five in number. Although fur prices dropped significantly in the last few years, the Indians were still able to provide for themselves by trapping. The future of the Indians thus depended upon continued use of their trapping and hunting grounds. Unfortunately there were no means other than Territorial regulations to control hunting and trapping activities.

In addition, Burge saw danger in the Tetlin Indians' dependence on John Hajdukovich "for all decisions of importance" and the dominating influence of E.A. McIntosh among the Tanana Crossing Indians. Burge thought highly of Hajdukovich and his work among the Indians: "Unlike most Indian traders, he has realized the importance of the sound development of the Indians' resources, and at all times he has encouraged and helped them to conserve their assets. Had it not been for his influence the picture would have been entirely different." Yet Hajdukovich must one day pass from the scene; the Indians could not rely upon the advice of one man indefinitely. In contrast, the activities of the missionaries at Tanana Crossing were "extremely unsatisfactory," principally in that they encouraged the Indians to remain in the village throughout the winter and so disrupted the Indians' trapping lifestyle. Also, there was no attempt to teach the children the art of trapping.

Taking all these considerations into account, Burge recommended that the Tetlin Reserve be expanded to include all villages in the Upper Tanana district, and thereby permit the Government "to enforce regulations affecting trapping, trading and other activities in the lives of these Indians." With the help of other agencies, the Indian Service should gather factual information necessary for a long range plan. The Biological Survey should conduct some investigations in the area, not only

to eliminate outside trappers but also to help the Indians to protect their resources. The Indian Service should also discuss the possibility of developing trading regulations for the district, and in any case replace those "willing, but incompetent missionaries who dealt with the natives according to their own theories" with trained men in the field. Burge thought it would be "a long time" before the Indians would be ready to organize a cooperative store, however desirable it was to establish one. In the interim, he believed, trading regulations would suffice. 111/

Not long after Burge completed his report on the Upper Tanana district, the American Association on Indian Affairs corresponded with the Bureau of Indian Affairs about the extension of the Indian Reorganization Act to Alaska: Indian reserves established by Executive Order and in particular whether the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve could be changed. Citing Section 4 of the Act of March 3, 1927 (44 Stat. 1347), the Bureau maintained that boundary changes could not be made except by Congress, and the Reserve itself could not be cancelled except by Congress. 112/

Apparently unaware of this position, the Tetlin Indians soon initiated a drive to organize under the Indian Reorganization Act and to enlarge the Reserve so as to include much of the

Upper Tanana district. The Indians were doubtlessly influenced not by Hajdukovich but by Fred A. Dimler, a former Tennessee principal who arrived in Tetlin to replace Singleton as the teacher in the fall of 1938. In January 1939, Dimler wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requesting a copy of the Indian Reorganization Act and other documents pertinent to organizing a Tribal Council. The Indians hoped to organize a Council, to establish a cooperative store and "marketing system, thus saving the profits made by traders," and to have the Tetlin Reserve extended to the International Boundary so as to include Nabesna village. During the summer of 1939, the Indians held at least four meetings for the purpose of organizing a council. By September they had voted on and adopted a resolution to draw up a constitution and by-laws and to ask for an extension of the Reserve to the Canadian border.

113/

Beginning in the spring of 1940 and continuing through the fall of 1941 the Upper Tanana Indians repeatedly petitioned the Government for the enlargement of the Tetlin Reserve. In the petition of April 8, 1941 prepared by Dimler, the Indians requested that nearly all of the Upper Tanana district be included in the proposed reserve, describing it as follows: "The proposed extension of the Reservation beginning at 64° longitude [sic] at the Canadian Boundary; thence running

west along this line to the mouth of Healy River; thence south to the summit of the Nutzotin Mountains; thence; [sic] southeast along this Natural divide to the Canadian Boundary; thence north to the place of starting." The villages of Scottie Creek, Nabesna, Tetlin, Last Tetlin, Tanana Crossing, and Healy Lake would be located in the reserve. Dimler claimed that no mining or interests were located in the area, and that only about two dozen non-Natives inhabited the district. He claimed that the Tetlin Reserve was insufficient in area to "provide ample hunting place or trapping grounds or even fishing grounds to support the natives" and that white men often took over the Natives' traplines. Also the Indians did not want whiskey introduced into the area. 114/

About the same time Dimler forwarded petitions for a reservation from the Nabesna Indians to the Office of Indian Affairs. The description of the proposed reservation was as follows:

Starting at the head of Bear Creek, the southern most corner of the Tetlin Reservation, and running southward along the top of the Nutzotin [sic] Mountains to the Canadian Boundary; Thence, running northward along the International Boundary to the point intersected by the Ladue River; Thence, is [sic] a northwesterly direction

along the Ladue River to its head to the point intersected by the Tetlin Reservation and thence following the eastern boundary of the Tetlin Reservation to the head of Bear Creek. 115/

According to Dimler, the Indians were forced to compete that spring for muskrats with trappers from Anchorage, Nubesna Mine, Chicken, and other places. Since the Government planned to build an air base at Nubesna, the number of non-Native trappers in the area would likely increase. 116/

The Bureau of Indian Affairs took no action on these petitions, partly because insufficient information was presented to support the requests for reservations, partly because the petitioners requested far more land than was believed necessary, and partly because of public opinion adverse to such reservations. Public opposition to these proposed reservations was given effect in the spring of 1941 when the Territorial legislature memorialized the Roosevelt Administration to review all public land withdrawals in Alaska and revoke all those found no longer to be necessary. In particular, the legislature requested that the Tetlin Reserve be revoked on the grounds that prospectors and others living near the Reserve claimed that it was impossible to prospect or develop the area, that the Reserve was intended to be "temporary" but was

actually a "no man's land" except when a person might secure a permit to enter the area and in some instances acquire a lease, and that the government had not attempted to develop the land. George A. Parks transmitted the memorial to the General Land Office with a request about prospecting and mining in the Reserve. The Land Office informed Parks that the Reserve was open to prospecting, and sent him a copy of Commissioner Moore's January 7, 1931 memorandum on the subject. In addition, the Land Office sent a copy of the memorial to the Office of Indian Affairs with the comment that the Tetlin Reserve encompassed approximately 240,000 acres of land. 117/

The Territorial memorial sent shock waves across the Upper Tanana district. Bureau of Indian Affairs officials regarded the memorial with suspicion if not contempt, believing it to be the work of one man, namely John Hajdukovich. In a letter to Morris Burge, who from time to time made inquiries of the Bureau about the status of the Upper Tanana Indians' reservation petitions, Donald W. Hagerty in Juneau wrote that Hajdukovich had recently been in Juneau and that it was through his efforts that the Legislature requested the revocation of the Tetlin Reserve. According to a credit agent named Fitzsimmons, who visited the Upper Tanana in March 1941 to investigate the Tetlin Natives' loan application for a cooperative store and freight boat, "the traders certainly have not been fair with

the Natives of this area and steps must be taken immediately to adjust certain actions of the Traders." Up until this time, the Bureau wanted to be fair with the traders and hesitated going into competition with them. However, "we now feel that in order to do our duty, we must give the Natives proper guidance and protection." 118/ Burge expressed surprise that Hajdukovich would attempt to abolish the Reserve, as it was "a complete reversal of the position he took when I was there" and he "understood that he had much to do with the establishment of the reserve in the first place." He was not surprised, however, to learn of his opposition to a cooperative store in view of his interests in the area and "extremely paternalistic" attitude toward the Tetlin Indians. 119/

Upon learning of the memorial, the Reverend E.A. McIntosh at Tanana Crossing wrote letters to the President, Alaska Delegate Anthony J. Dimond, and the Indian Rights Association of Philadelphia, protesting the Territorial legislatures' action and accusing Hajdukovich as the instigator of the memorial. In his letter to the President, McIntosh claimed that the Indians needed the Reserve as protection against white trappers and liquor. They also needed a cooperative store and freight boat, for without them they were "at the mercy of the traders, who will not bring any freight up for them, and charge them what they please for the necessities of life." He believed that a

store and boat would enable the Indians to reduce the prices of staple commodities by about one-half. In addition, he noted that both traders in the district threatened to give or sell liquor to the Indians if they obtained and operated a store and freight boat. 120/ In his letter to the Indian Rights Association, McIntosh presented much of the same information claiming that Hajdukovich boasted that he would kill the Tetlin Indians' loan application and that it was through his influence that the application was held up. McIntosh predicted a fight. Already the teacher at Tetlin "has to have his freight brought in by air last year because he incurred the displeasure of the traders by aiding the Indians to incorporate and otherwise helping them to get supplies at reduced prices." 121/ "I was never more deceived in a man in my life than I was in him and if things now on record with the Bureau of Indian Affairs were generally known he would have less supporters than he now has," wrote McIntosh to Dimond; "if he treats the Indians as he has me the things that were brought out about his misuse of the offices he has held in the furtherance of his own schemes are easily believable." He requested an investigation for "so long as Hajdukovich and his stooges are around there will be trouble." 122/

The Washington office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs received copies of McIntosh's letters and the Territorial memorial with

requests from Alaska Delegate Dimond and the Indian Rights Association for an explanation of events in the Upper Tanana, and in turn requested its Alaska office to provide its views on the subject. Well aware of the situation in the Upper Tanana district, the Alaska office had been receiving petitions from the Tetlin and Nabesna Indians to remove the traders from the area. In early October 1940 Chief Peter Joe requested the traders' removal out of fear that they would import liquor into the Reserve. The Indian Service tended to discount this possibility as they understood that the traders were "very anxious to keep liquor, in any form, away from the Native villages of the upper Tanana." In any case, it advised Joe that the traders' rights to property in the Reserve could not be disturbed or removed if such rights existed prior to the establishment of the Reserve. In the matter of the liquor charge, the Indian Service required definite and sufficient information to warrant an investigation by the Territorial Liquor Board against either trader or anyone else. 123/ Subsequently, the Indian Service received another complaint about the traders, this time from the Nabesna Indians. In mid-June 1941 Chief Walter Northway requested the removal of Hajdukovich and Kessler, claiming that Kessler was planning to build another trading post in the village against the wishes of the Indians and that Hajdukovich allowed an associate to sell liquor in the village during the summer of 1939 and threatened

to sell liquor "to our people in defiance to our co-operative movement." According to Northway, Hajdukovich hoped to trade at Nabesna since the Tetlin Indians planned to establish a cooperative store and "he is having to leave there." "He is bitterly opposed to the co-operative movement and we don't want him in our village," declared Northway. 124/ The Nabesna Indians sent at least two additional requests (one through Dimler's wife) to the Indian Service for the removal of Kessler or some action to prevent him from building another post in the village. The Indian Service, observing that it had no control over the actions of the traders in a non-reserved village, could only offer the consolation that it planned to request a reservation for the Nabesna Indians. 125/

In view of these events, Claude M. Hirst, the General Superintendent, wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on July 21, 1941, "We feel that the Tetlin Reserve is very essential to the Tetlin Natives, and recommend highly that the same be retained for the exclusive use of the Natives." For the past two years his office had made a "careful study" of conditions in the Upper Tanana and found "exploitation by the traders so deplorable" that it was necessary to support the Indians in their request for a loan for a cooperative store and freight boat. He noted that the credit agent Fitzsimmons and Chief Counsel George W. Folta, having recently returned from a

trip to Tetlin, concurred in his belief that the Reserve was essential to the well-being of the Indians, and referred the Commissioner to an enclosed memorandum by Folta on the subject. 126/

In his memorandum of June 23, 1941, Folta characterized the Territorial memorial as "merely an outstanding example of the abuse to which the legislative processes may be put" and "merely a front for the promotion of the traders," namely Kessler and Hajdukovich. He focused his attention on Hajdukovich, whom he regarded as bearing "a good reputation and undoubtedly more considerate of the interests of the natives than the average trader." Nevertheless, the memorial "screens the traders' war on the Tetlin Indians and the Office of Indian Affairs." He explained:

In recent years Hajducovich [sic] has lost so heavily in mining ventures that he has been compelled to sell his business to Herman Kessler, his former associate or partner. Nevertheless, he is still concerned in the operation of the business and perhaps will be until the full purchase price is paid. As a big game guide, Hajducovich [sic] has made many influential friends whom he is apparently able to enlist in support of his personal battles, provided they are disguised as worthy causes.

particularly such as appear to be in the interest of the natives. As a member of the Alaska Game Commission he also enjoys the confidence and support of that body, and his utterances are accorded considerable weight.

When the natives began to talk about establishing a cooperative store at Tetlin because of difficulties with the traders, Hajducovich [sic] went into action. Last January while the Legislature was in session he attended the annual meeting of the Game Commission at Juneau. My information is that he convinced Representative [William A.] Egan that the withdrawal of areas of land which would thereafter not be subject to entry, settlement, or location, was bad, and that too many areas had already been set aside, of which the Tetlin Reserve was an offending example because it obstructed the development of the country. In an interview with Hajducovich [sic] about a month ago on the subject of the difficulties that had arisen between him and the natives of Tetlin, he told me that he, with the aid of friends whom he had guided, had induced the Secretary of the Interior to have the Tetlin Reserve created, and that by the same means he could have the area restored. He further claimed credit for keeping liquor out of the upper Tanana country at a loss of an estimated \$20,000 profit from the sale of liquor, and

declared that since the natives now want to put him out of business he would no longer turn over a hand to keep liquor out and predicted that with the sale of liquor any cooperative venture on the part of the natives would be doomed to fail.

Folta regarded Hajdukovich's reaction to the Natives' efforts to obtain a cooperative store as being "rather violent," and doubted that the dispute between the traders and the Indians could be resolved. 127/

Not long after the Office of Indian Affairs responded to the Territorial memorial, it was forced to consider another petition for the revocation of the Tetlin Reserve. This one came from a most unlikely source. In December 1941 Walter Isaac, Chief of Tanacross, and Silas Solomon, Secretary of the Council, wrote Alaska Delegate Dimond that they did not want a new reserve in the Upper Tanana, and in fact wanted the Tetlin Reserve abolished. They understood that the Reserve was to have been in effect for a period of five years during which time the Upper Tanana Indians would receive vocational training. If the experiment proved successful, the life of the Reserve would be extended for a number of years. The experiment was not made, and since the Reserve "only takes away

our trapping rights and timber rights," the Reserve should be revoked for "the benefit and goodwill of all." 128/

Dimond transmitted the petition to the Office of Indian Affairs and asked for information about the matter. At least one official quickly perceived the petition as the work of Hajdukovich in his continuing battle to block the Tetlin Indians' loan application for a store and boat. He had already lost the battle, for on August 12, 1941 the Tetlin Indians accepted the Government loan of \$19,000. In his letter to Dimond, however, the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Zimmerman, Jr. simply stated that his office was not in favor of abolishing the 240,000-acre-Reserve and could not understand why Isaac and Solomon wanted it abolished. The office had received a considerable amount of correspondence from the Indians for reservations at Nabesna and Tanacross, and intended soon to detail a man to determine just what lands the Indians needed for designation as reservations. 129/

Isaac's and Solomon's petition may have been sparked as a result of the Tetlin Indians' attempt to control timber-cutting and trapping activities on lands they believed to be within the Reserve. In the fall of 1940 the Tetlin Indians, evidently at Dimler's instigation, appealed to authorities to prevent the traders from cutting timber in the Reserve. In a letter

written by Dimler's wife to the Office of Indian Affairs. Titus David, a member of the Tetlin Council, claimed that the traders intended to bring white men to the district and cut logs on the Reserve. The Council was "opposed to any white men cutting timber on the reservation for any purpose what so ever." 130/ David also sent a petition signed by fourteen Tetlin Indians requesting that "no further building by white people be done on the Tetlin Reservation." The Office of Indian Affairs took no action on the appeal other than to contact the Fairbanks office of the General Land Office to determine whether any timber-cutting permits on the district had been issued. The Register reported that no permits had been issued by his office. 131/

Herman Kessler began cutting timber on the Upper Tok River in the winter of 1940-41. This sparked a protest from John I. Jonathan, a Tanacross Indian. When George S. Fleischman of the Indian Service visited Tanacross in December 1940, Jonathan complained that a white man and a Native employed by Kessler were cutting timber from his trapline, which was situated on the left bank of the upper Tok River. The trapline, he claimed, had been the property of his family for generations and did not want it to become a woodyard. Jonathan thus wanted to know whether Kessler had a permit to cut the timber and whether logging permits were granted for those sections under

consideration for inclusion in a reservation. Fleischman presented Jonathan's case before the General Superintendent, who in turn queried the General Land Office in Juneau as to whether Kessler had a timber-cutting permit. Daniel Ross in the Office of the Cadastral Engineer subsequently wrote to the Register of the Fairbanks Land Office for information as to whether Kessler had such a permit and whether any action was to be taken to have the logging operations discontinued. Ross noted that the Tetlin Reserve included about twenty-five miles of the Tok River from the Tanana River, but did not know whether the upper Tok River was within the Reserve. 132/ The Register replied a week later to the effect that the upper Tok River area was located in the Anchorage Land District and that the Tetlin Reserve was "entirely east of Tok River." He expressed surprise by the statement that twenty-five miles of the Tok River was located in the Reserve, as "[t]he original reservation did not include the Tok River in its description." Suspecting that there had been an amendment to the original Reserve boundaries, the Register requested advice on the best source of information about the location the Reserve boundary in the lower Tok River valley. 133/

The Register's request for information on the boundary location was deferred until such time that the Tetlin Reserve boundaries were surveyed. In the meantime, special agent A.H.J. McCrary

of the Division of Investigations in the Interior Department, was assigned to investigate possible trespass action against Kessler and D.T. Denny of Tanacross, who also was cutting timber in the Tok River valley. In March 1941 McCrary suspended the timber application of Denny until the survey was completed. He informed Denny that "[i]t is possible when this survey is completed the whole of the Tok River may be included within the Reservation." 134/ About the same time he met Herman Kessler in Fairbanks, who had filed a timber application on March 18, 1941 in the Fairbanks Land Office covering certain lands on the left bank of the Tok River, and discussed with him his timber-cutting activities. McCrary give Kessler permission to remove about seventy logs from the area, and told him that he could not cut any more. Upon receiving another complaint about Kessler's logging operations, the special agent wrote to Kessler in June and reminded him of their earlier discussions. 135/ Kessler replied that he had obeyed the request to stop cutting timber on the Tok. After his return to Tanacross, he recalled his two men on the river and removed all his tools and provisions. The logs were not yet moved, but he intended to move them as soon as possible. He invited an investigation if similar complaints, which he believed to be made with malice, were made to his office. 136/

Receipt of the Isaac and Solomon petition caused the Indian Service to initiate an investigation of its own. According to Walter W. Phippeny, the government teacher at Tanacross, there appeared to be "a feeling of growing intensity" in Tanacross that the Tetlin Indians wrongly excluded other Native trappers from the Reserve. Both Isaac and Solomon told him "in full confidence that they feel the Tetlin reservation has a curbing influence on their livelihood activities, and feel that any further reservation might work even a greater hardship." Phippeny observed that the Tanacross Indians apparently considered the area within the Tetlin Reserve to be "the most lucrative section" for muskrats. Prior to the establishment of the Reserve, the Upper Tanana Indians enjoyed equal rights in trapping rats in the Tetlin area. Traplines of the Tanacross Indians apparently always reached as far east as Porcupine Creek. Now "the Tetlin reserve overlaps this and comes down to the Tok (Tokio Creek)." While observing that it was difficult to ascertain the facts, Phippeny received the impression from the Tanacross Indians that "the Tetlin Council is in a position to dictate terms, under which our Natives will or will not be allowed to trap on the reserve." For example, one Indian family attempting to trap in the Tetlin area was informed that all pelts obtained in the Reserve were to be sold at the Tetlin cooperative store. When a family member objected on the grounds that he had obligations to the Tanacross trader, he was

told that it was of "no consequence." Phippeny stated that the family did not plan to trap muskrats in the Reserve that season, although it certainly needed the money that the pelts would bring. The family planned to send one or two boys to trap in the area, but they expressed the belief that they would not be very welcome. Their father hoped to make up this loss of income by securing employment on the Tanacross airport construction project. 137/

Perhaps reflecting this growing tension between the Tetlin and Tanacross Indians as well as the Indian Office's intention to obtain a separate and independent reservation for the Tanacross Indians, the Tanacross Indians obtained a cooperative store of their own. When Tetlin obtained a store, it also established a branch store in Tanacross. However, on July 21, 1942, the Tetlin Council decided to discontinue operation of its Tanacross store. About a week later the Tanacross Council voted unanimously to segregate the Tanacross store entirely from the Tetlin store and to repay the Tetlin Council the money it advanced in setting up the branch store. 138/

There is little doubt that John Hajdukovich was deeply affected by the Upper Tanana Indians' efforts to obtain cooperative stores. Given the evidence, it is more than probable that he was behind the Territorial memorial and the Isaac and Solomon

petition. He was clearly angered by the Indians' actions, going so far as to purchase the Indians' pelts with money rather than in goods. This was contrary to his practice in past years. 139/

In March of 1940 Herman Kessler wrote Hajdukovich to report that conditions were not good in the Upper Tanana district, many of the Indians sending their furs directly to market rather than through the traders. "Dimler sure raised Hell in Nabesna and the Indians will be hard to handle this spring," he advised. He thus recommended that he and Hajdukovich sell trade goods to the Indians only for cash and "let them ship the furs themselves." 140/ Hajdukovich subsequently visited Tetlin and tried to restore amicable relations with the Indians. In May Kessler informed Hajdukovich that "[t]hings seem to quiet down somewhat and the men are getting friendlier." Proposing to send more than five hundred muskrat pelts to Fairbanks obtained since Hajdukovich's departure, Kessler asked him to send the pelts outside, take the mailing receipt to the bank, and obtain money needed to purchase additional pelts from the Indians. 141/

Clearly exasperated by the events in the Upper Tanana district, Hajdukovich reported to Mallinckrodt from Tetlin in May 1941 that Dimler organized a Native Council and persuaded some of

the Indians to apply for a government loan for a cooperative store. He did not know whether the loan was granted, but observed that Dimler was already operating a store and buying fur. Complaining that the teacher had made all kinds of false charges against him, Hajdukovich was probably referring in part to Kessler's logging operations. He wrote that all the timber in the vicinity was "practically cleaned up" and reminded Mallinckrodt that he had mentioned before the advisability of moving the mill to a more favorable location, one where "the other villages could get enough lumber for their use." "I had no intention of getting lumber for my personal use," he said. Many of the Indians "did not want to be forced by the teacher to accept dictation" from the Indian Service, which never offered to cooperate with him for the past two years. Therefore, he declared, he would "not cooperate with the Indian Office from this date." All that had been accomplished for the Upper Tanana Indians in the past twenty years, he believed, had been nullified by the Indian Service in two years. The government made a failure of the cooperative stores in many places in Alaska, and doubtlessly would meet with the same result at Tetlin as no offer had been made to buy the traders out.

Noting that Mallinckrodt had written earlier about the advisability of maintaining or enlarging the Tetlin Reserve,

for Hajdukovich stated that "[t]he purpose for which the Reserve was established did not go through, therefore the present Reserve is more harmful to the whole Indian population than a benefit. For this I have absolute proof. Therefore I believe the Reserve should be abolished." He reminded Mallinckrodt that when they asked for the Reserve, they intended to have it in existence for "only five years for experimental purposes." Ten years have passed, and "not a dollar spent for experimental purposes and the present Reserve covers about 1000 square miles and that figures out 100 square miles for each active family; and this village don't use more than one-third of the Reserve." According to Hajdukovich, the Tetlin Indians now denied the Nabesna and Tanacross Indians the use of some of their traplines where they crossed lands in the Reserve; he planned to write to Alaska Delegate Dimond about the matter. 142/

The Office of Indian Affairs evidently never initiated discussions with the traders on the subject of acquiring their interests in the Upper Tanana district. However, it appears that the Indian Service favorably considered the possibility of buying the traders out. Assistant Commissioner Zimmerman informed the Indian Rights Association in 1941 that it was not the intention of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to establish cooperative stores indiscriminantly and that where traders

operated in an area and desired to sell, the Bureau had purchased in several cases the existing establishments rather than set up new ones. "I think the same attitude should characterize our operations in Alaska," he wrote. 143/ Later, in 1943 the Bureau's Alaska office recommended that consideration of the purchase of the trader's stores at Tetlin and Tanacross be deferred until after the war. The subject was apparently never raised again. 144/

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and on the Aleutian Islands the following summer, the military moved into Alaska in force, spending millions, if not billions, of dollars on bases, roads, and airfields. The Upper Tanana district was not untouched by these events. Airfields were constructed at Big Delta and Northway (on the lower Nabesna River); the Corps of Engineers constructed the Tok cut-off, and in cooperation with Canada, the Alaska Highway. The Tok cut-off extended from the Richardson Highway near Gakona to Tok Junction on the Alaska Highway by way of Slana, Mentasta Pass, and the Little Tok and Tok river valleys; it was built to facilitate construction of the Alaska Highway and to provide connection between the Copper and Tanana river valleys. Completed in 1942, the Alaska Highway was officially opened for civilian use in 1948; however, civilians were evidently

traveling the road, if surreptitiously, before that date. During the early 1950s the Alaska Road Commission reconstructed much of the Tok Cut-off or Glenn Highway in the Tok River valley.

145/

The construction of military airfields and roads in the Upper Tanana district added force to the Nabesna and Tanacross Indians' appeals for reservations. An influx of non-Natives into the district now that the traditional barriers to travel were removed, was certain to affect the Natives' lifestyles and possibly endanger their existence. The Alaska Native Service attempted to respond to the threat but met with limited success.

The Indian Service held back on recommending reservations for the Nabesna and Tanacross Indians until a qualified person could make an investigation as to what lands were actually needed by the Indians. In 1943 T.W. Wheat, the Assistant Director of Lands for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, traveled to the district and obtained the necessary information. In late October, he submitted a lengthy report to the Commissioner in support of a reservation 208,000 acres in area for the Nabesna Indians, as well as a description of the proposed reservation boundaries prepared by George A. Parks. Using a map showing the proposed reservation, Parks described the boundaries as follows:

Beginning at a point on left bank of Tanana River opposite the mouth of Gardiner Creek, approximate latitude 62°50' N., approximate longitude 141°32' W., U.S.G.S. map, Topographic Reconnaissance [sic] Map Upper Tanana Valley 1922; thence S. 45° W., 10 miles; thence N. 55° W., approximately 22 miles, crossing Nubesna River to east bank of the Kalutna River; thence northwesterly following east bank of Kalutna to the south bank of the Tanana River; thence southeasterly upstream, following left bank of Tanana River to the place of beginning, containing an estimated area of 325 square miles (208,000 acres). 146/

Wheat noted that the Northway Indians actually used a much greater area, but he intended to recommend only that area that was "most intensively utilized by the Natives." The proposed reservation was in any case much smaller in area than the Tetlin Reserve. In reading correspondence about the Reserve, he noted references to it as being about 240,000 acres in area. However, Parks and he checked the area, and found that the Reserve area was approximately 800,000 acres. 147/

Three years later Chief Counsel Theodore H. Haas and an anthropologist named Dr. Goldschmidt traveled to Tanacross on a mission similar to that of Wheat. Subsequently, on July 31, 1947, the Secretary of the Interior by Public Land Order 386

withdrew 208,000 acres and 282,000 acres of land in the vicinity of Northway and Tanacross pending further study of the lands for designation as Indian reservations. For reasons beyond the scope of this paper, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Bureau of Land Management in 1953 and 1954 recommended that the Northway and Tanacross withdrawals be revoked. The Secretary of the Interior by Public Land Order 961 (May 10, 1954) revoked Public Land Order 386 as it applied to the two withdrawals. 148/

No longer in the trading business, Hajdukovich during the war years found employment in cutting lumber for the Army, which in the summer of 1942 began construction of buildings at Big Delta and Northway for the Air Transport Command ferry route to Russia. In August 1942 the Army Engineers rented his portable sawmill, tractor, and a poling boat with an outboard motor for use at Northway. 149/ Later in the year, he located the sawmill near the mouth of the Tok River, where he cut timber along the Tok River and floated the logs down. He also cut timber on the Tanana River near the Big and Little Gerstle rivers, as he filed an application for a timber-cutting permit in that locality in October 1942. The logging operation continued through the fall of 1943, and possibly later. 150/

Apparently Hajdukovich's relationship with the Upper Tanana Indians improved during these years, for he devoted several of his summers working on the Tetlin aviation field. The Territory had plans to construct airfields at Tetlin, Tanacross, and Big Delta since the late 1920s, but were unable to find anyone to build them at \$300 each. Captain Flanagan, owner of the steamer Nabesna and trader on the Upper Tanana, refused to build fields at Big Delta and Tetlin for anything less than \$500 in 1927. In the summer of 1932 Hajdukovich constructed a landing-strip on his own initiative. Later, he received a \$1,500-contract from the Territory to make improvements on the field. 151/

At the request of the Tetlin Indians, Hajdukovich in the summer of 1945 moved a D-6 caterpillar from Fairbanks to Tetlin, and worked on the landing strip. The Territory later let a \$6,500-contract to Hajdukovich to widen, grade, and level the fields. Employing local residents, Hajdukovich successfully accomplished the work. 152/

The Road Commission subsequently recommended further work in leveling the field at an estimated cost of \$1,500. Hajdukovich agreed to perform the work, and proposed to construct a much needed bridge across Tetlin River. The Territory allotted \$1,500 for the work, and consulted the Indian Bureau about the

proposed bridge. The Bureau was not interested in the project. Nevertheless, Hajdukovich performed the work on the airfield, although he exceeded the allotment considerably. 153/

Finally, in 1949 Hajdukovich proposed additional improvements on the Tetlin field to Territorial officials. On May 8, the Territory allotted up to \$4,500 for grading and the construction of a breakwater to prevent Tetlin River from cutting into the field, provided Hajdukovich matched the allotment with his time and equipment. Hajdukovich completed the work in September. On behalf of the Territory, Sigurd Wien, president of Wien Alaska Airlines, Inc., inspected and approved the work. 154/

Through the years Hajdukovich evidently attempted to help the Indians as much as he could. In 1947, for example, he endeavored at the request of the Indians to obtain 150 or more blankets for an upcoming potlatch. Later, in February 1950, Percy D. Pringle, the Government teacher at Northway, wrote to him: "Why don't you answer, anyway? I've written about 20 letters in the last 3 years but not one answer. These folks always tell me, 'John Hajdukovich will help me.'" About a week later Walter and Bill Northway of Northway appealed for his help. Even today the Indians hold him in high regard. 155/

Little is known about Hajdukovich's activities during the 1950s and 1960s. He evidently spent a great deal of time trying to develop the Jarvis Creek coal field in the Delta River basin, and in prospecting on Goodpaster and Healy rivers. At one time he planned to construct a public airport near Tok Junction. In 1964 he again left Alaska to visit the Mallinckrodt family in St. Louis. He died a year later. 156/

FOOTNOTES

1. John Hajdukovich (JH) note, no date, File 142, Box 3, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks; JH notes on Nordale Hotel stationery, no date; and Medical Examiners Report, New York Life Insurance Company, 13 September 1932, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks, Anchorage.
2. JH notes on Nordale Hotel stationery, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks; Al Maxey to Walter Clark, 25 March 1912, General Correspondence of the Alaska Territorial Governors, National Archives (NA), Microfilm Publication M939, Roll 9, frames 673-74 (hereinafter referred to as Governors' Papers); JH speech notes, no date, File Miscellaneous Notes, Box 4, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.
3. Valdez Miner, Alaska: The Richardson Road, Valdez to Fairbanks: An Illustrated Booklet (1922), p. 21.
4. JH To Edward Mallinckrodt, 18 July 1930, Correspondence Folder, and JH notes on Nordale Hotel stationery, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers, Alaska

Division of Parks; also see JH's statement in File 62, Box 2, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

5. During the late 1910s, Milo Hajdukovich operated a fox ranch at Big Delta. See Calvin F. Townsend to Commissioner of Fisheries, 31 March 1917, Reports and Related Records - C.F. Townsend, 1915-17, Division of Alaska Fisheries, Bureau of Fisheries, Box 55, Records of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Record Group (RG) 22, NA.
6. JH's purchase of Milo's properties in the Upper Tanana district is described in John K. Howard's letter to JH, 27 July 1950, File 154, Box 3, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks. After Milo died in Fairbanks on October 2, 1945, JH wrote to Howard for assistance in his claims in probate court. JH stated that on 22 December 1925, he turned over to Milo his Nabesna post, including dry goods, groceries, hardware, and \$22,000 with the understanding that Milo was to trade at Nabesna until 1930 and to invest all profits in JH's name in Fairbanks real estate. JH was "to share and share equally" in all of Milo's real estate and personal properties in Alaska after that

date. In 1932, he recalled, he purchased Milo's interests in the Upper Tanana district for \$20,000, which also was to go into real estate investments in Milo's name. See JH to John K. Howard, 14 June 1950, File 154, Box 3, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska. Howard's records did not substantiate JH's claims. These records consisted of an interview transcript on 13 August 1932 when JH applied for a loan, a telegram dated 26 September 1932 sent by JH to Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., and JH's letter to Mallinckrodt dated 20 October 1935.

In 1929 JH planned to sell certain real and personal properties (goods, wares, merchandise, buildings, and cabins) at Tanana Crossing, Tetlin, and Nabesna to Theodore Lowell. They entered into an agreement on 1 September 1929 whereby Lowell was to pay JH \$33,042 on 1 September 1931 for the properties. Lowell was unable to meet the terms of the contract, and JH released him from it. See JH to Theodore Lowell, 15 July 1931, Land Papers File, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks; Transcript of Proceedings Before the United States Department of the Interior, Office of Hearings and Appeals, In the Matter of Appeal of Tetlin Native Corporation, Before E. Kendall Clarke.

IBLA 82-1145, pp. 1314, 1324-25, 1334 (hereafter cited as Transcript of Proceedings).

By July 1933 JH was definitely engaged again in the trading business in the Upper Tanana district. On July 7, he sent the following message to the West Coast Grocery Company, Tacoma, Washington: "Have shipped from Big Delta PO 6,000 choice muskrats for July sales." See telegram, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks.

7. Thomas D. Williams, "Note to Files," 30 October 1975, File F-14912-EE (75.4), Docket, Bureau of Land Management, State Office, Anchorage; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1312-15, 1325.
8. Oscar Fish to the Secretary of the Interior, 5 December 1900, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA Microfilm Publication 430, Roll 7, frames 518-20.
9. Walter Vyeek, et al., to J.F.A. Strong, September 1915, Governors' Papers, Roll 29, frames 212-19.

10. Gov. J.F.A. Strong to Walter Vyeek, 23 October 1915.
Governors' Papers, Roll 29, frames 208-11.
11. George E. Boulter to Commissioner of Education,
14 January 1909, File Ketchumstock-4, 1909, Alaska
Division Files, Box 2, Records of the Bureau of Indian
Affairs, RG 75, NA.
12. Marie Francoise Guedon, People of Tetlin. Why Are You
Singing? Mercury Series, Ethnology Division, Paper
No. 9 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1974), p. 15.
13. Application for Membership, Fairbanks Igloo No. 4,
Pioneers of America, 1958, Immigration File,
JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks; Melvin B. Ricks,
Directory of Alaska Postoffices and Postmasters
(Ketchikan: Tongass Publishing Co., 1965). p. 55.
14. C.G. Morrison to the President of the Board, 2 October
1919, File 13/99, Box 65480, Records of the Bureau of
Public Roads, RG 30, Federal Records Center (FRC),
Seattle, Washington.
15. U.S. Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, Report
Upon the Construction and Maintenance of Military and

Post Roads, Bridges, Trails, and other Roads,
Tramways, Bridges, Ferries, Trails, and Related Works
in the Territory of Alaska, 1921. Part II (Washington,
D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1921), pp. 18, 31;
U.S. Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, Report
.... 1922. Part II (Juneau: Alaska Daily Empire
Print, 1922), p. 36; U.S. Board of Road Commissioners,
Annual Report of the Alaska Road Commission, FY 1923,
Part II (Juneau: Alaska Daily Empire Print, 1923),
p. 49.

16. JH to Superintendent, Alaska Road Commission,
25 February 1924, File 13/99-1, Box 65480, RG 30, FRC;
U.S. Board of Road Commissioners for Alaska, Annual
Report of the Alaska Road Commission, FY 1924. Part II
(Juneau: Alaska Daily Empire Print, 1924), p 93.
17. JH to Ike Taylor, 29 March 1924, File 13/99-1,
Box 65480, RG 30, FRC. This file contains two maps:
a Road Commission map entitled "Sketch of Winter
Trail, McCarty-Tanana Crossing, April 1924"; and a
sketch map of the Upper Tanana district showing the
location of the Big Delta-Tetlin trail. A handwritten
note on the latter map reads: "From Crossing to

Tetlin would be new trail marked in ink and would follow Flats." See also Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1316-18.

18. JH to Col. Steese, Chitina, 22 March 1925, Steese to JH, Richardson, 22 March 1925, File 13/99-1, Box 65480, RG 30, FRC.

19. Grace Edman, Alice Hudson, and Sam Johnson, "Fifty Years of Highways" (Nome: unpublished manuscript, 1960), pp. 27-28.

20. JH to The Officer in Charge [WAMCATS], Valdez, 27 March 1926, Governors' Papers, Roll 139, frames 359-60.

21. JH to George Parks, 30 March 1926, Gov. to Col. J.D.L. Hartman, 19 April 1926, Hartman to Gov. Parks, 26 April 1926, Hartman to Gov. Parks, 8 May 1926, Governors' Papers, Roll 139, frames 354, 356-58.

22. JH to Gov. George Parks, 20 January 1927, File 58, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

23. George A. Parks to John Hajderkovich [sic], 18 March 1927, File 58, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska. Quoting liberally from JH's letter of 20 January, Parks wrote to the Superintendent of the Bureau of Education in Seattle on the same day requesting an investigation. See Gov. to Jonathan A. Wagner, 18 March 1927, Governors' Papers, Roll 144, frames 530-31.

24. Fred H. Moffit, Geology of the Slana-Tok District, Alaska, U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 904 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 4-5; Fred H. Moffit, Field Notebooks Nos. 2988, 2989, U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, California.

25. Frank Nash to Hawley W. Sterling, 10 March 1928. Hawley W. Sterling to Major D.H. Gillette, 14 March 1928, File 13/99-4, Box 65480, RG 30, FRC; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 104-105, 124, 136, 1318, 1320, 1328.

26. B.B. Mozee to JH, 3 May 1928, File 52, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks; Mozee to Beck, 12 July 1928, File 59, Correspondence Files, Box 7, Ben B. Mozee Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

27. U.S. Office of Education, "Report of Official Visit to Upper Tanana and Copper River Valleys, Dec. 28, 1929 to February 14, 1930," 3 March 1930; and E.J. Beck to John Cooper, 22 March 1930, Special Cases-John Hajdukovich, Information on Upper Tanana Indians, 1930-32, General Correspondence Files, Alaska Division, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, NA (hereafter referred to as JH File, RG 75, NA).
28. Robert A. McKennan to Michael Brown, 26 May 1981, enclosing Journal excerpts for the period 27 January to February 1930, in writer's files. McKennan died in 1983.
29. Robert A. McKennan, The Upper Tanana Indians, Yale University Publications in Anthropology No. 55 (New Haven: Yale University, 1959), p. 46.
30. Ibid., p. 47.
31. Ibid., pp. 25-27.
32. McKennan to Brown, 26 May 1981; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1323, 1329, 1331, 1333-35. Lowell

recalled that Esplund's headquarters was located near Mineral Lake.

33. See "Map of the Beach-Elting Trip, Aug.-October 1923," File 160, Box 3, JH Papers, University of Alaska; and Transcript of Proceedings, p. 1328.
34. John K. Howard to JH, 21 March 1925, File 36, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
35. William N. Beach to JH, 5 January 1927, File 8, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
36. Edward Mallinckrodt to JH, 7 May 1929, 29 June 1929, Guiding Activities Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks; Edward Mallinckrodt to JH, 21 July 1929, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo.
37. See William N. Beach to JH, 5 January 1927, File 8, Box 1, and H.W. Endicott Correspondence, 1928-31, File 25, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska; and H. Wendell Endicott to JH, 20 November 1930, Fur Trapping/Trade Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks.

38. Henry Wendell Endicott, Adventures in Alaska and Along the Trail (New York: F.A. Stokes Co., 1928), p. 117.
39. Ibid., p. 104.
40. J.A. Singleton to A.M. Lane, 22 March 1930, Tetlin File, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks; John to Elim Singleton, 22 March 1930, and John A. Singleton to W.C. Hawley, 22 March 1930, File 69, Box 2, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
41. Seattle Post-Intelligencer clipping, 16 April 1930, File Newspaper Clipping, Box 4, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
42. Two telegrams from Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., to Dr. William J. Cooper, 7 May 1930, JH File, RG 75, NA.
43. Stapled collection of documents, 6 pp., May 1930, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks. See also "Memorandum of recommendations of Edward Mallinckrodt, St. Louis, and John Hajdukovich, Big Delta, Alaska, as to what the Office of Education might do for the natives of the Upper Tanana region," 10 May 1930, JH File, RG 75, NA. The original of this

memorandum is in File 1380268, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Records of the General Land Office, RG 49, NA. A copy of the memorandum is also found in File 1101.01 Admin. Trust Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau, Alaska (hereafter referred to as File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau).

44. "Some Information about Upper Tanana Indians by John Hajdukovich, Big Delta, Alaska," JH File, RG 75, NA.
45. John Hajdenkovich [sic] to Geo. A. Parks, 16 May 1930. Governors' Papers, Roll 171, frame 51.
46. H. Wendell Endicott to Jeremiah Millbank, 19 May 1930. File 1380268, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Records of the General Land Office, RG 49, NA (hereinafter referred to as File 1380268, RG 49, NA).
47. "Jerry" [Millbank] to "Larry" [Richey], 21 May 1930. Lawrence Richey to Ray Lyman Wilbur, 23 May 1930, and Ray Lyman Wilbur to Mr. Richey, 26 May 1930. File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
48. JH to Gen. Robert E. Wood, 16 June 1930. File Miscellaneous Telegrams, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

49. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 7 July 1930: Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1332-33. In a letter dated July 18 to Mallinckrodt, JH noted the arrival of the machinery. In addition, he asked Mallinckrodt to lobby the Attorney General for the reappointment of Judge Cecil H. Clegg, who, he said, helped him to keep "booze" out of the Upper Tanana district. See JH to Edward Mallinckrodt, 18 July 1930, Correspondence Files, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks.
50. H. Wendell Endicott to JH, 11 July 1930, File 30, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
51. E. Mallinckrodt to Ernest W. Sawyer, 16 July 1930, File-Commissioner Cooper (1930), E.W. Sawyer Alaska Files, 1931-32, Box 5, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA.
52. Cooper to Burlew, 24 January 1930, JH File, RG 75, NA; Executive Order No. 5289, 4 March 1930, Governors' Papers, Roll 167, frame 682.
53. "Memorandum of recommendations of Edward Mallinckrodt, St. Louis, and John Hajdukovich, Big Delta, Alaska, as to what the Office of Education might do for the

Natives in the Upper Tanana region," 10 May 1930,
File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

54. EWS, "Memo to Secy Wilbur," 10 May [1930], File-Memo to Secretary-(carbons). E.W. Sawyer File, Records of the Office of Territories, RG 126, NA; E.W. Sawyer to Secretary Wilbur, 12 May 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA. A copy of Sawyer's May 12 memorandum is also found in File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
55. E.C. Finney to the Secretary of the Interior, 29 May 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
56. E.K. Burlew to Secretary Edwards, 26 May 1930; C.C. Moore to Secretary of the Interior, 3 June 1930; Ray Lyman Wilbur to the President, 6 June 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
57. C.C. Moore to Jeremiah Millbank, to Commissioner of Education, to James A. Ramsey, to E.C. Guerin, and to Register and Receiver, Fairbanks, 3 July 1930; and Lawrence Richey to Ray Lyman Wilbur, 11 June 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

58. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 21 July 1930. The newspaper printed the text of the Executive Order in full.

59. Alaska Weekly clipping, 26 September 1927 [1930]. File 9-1-52 Tetlin Lake, Records of the Office of Territories, RG 126, NA (hereafter referred to as File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA). Whitham's statement was printed in the Fairbanks Daily News-Miner on 24 September 1930.

60. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 22 December 1930.

61. Report of Committee, Cordova Chamber of Commerce, 17 December 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.

62. Alaska Game Commission, Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting, 3 December 1930, p. 22, microfilm in Alaska Resources Library, Anchorage.

63. Gov. to E.K. Burlew, 3 October 1930, Governors' Papers, Roll 184, frame 9.

64. E.K. Burlew to Commissioner Cooper, 14 October 1930, Cooper to Burlew, 23 October 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.

65. Secretarial Order No. 460, 11 October 1930, Governors' Papers, Roll 179, frame 619. Sawyer's list of Alaskan Executive Orders, 1890-1929, is found in the Governors' Papers, Roll 167, frames 654ff.
66. Ernest Walker Sawyer to General Land Office, 22 October 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.
67. Thomas Havell to Mr. Sawyer, 25 October 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA; "WSW", Memorandum, 24 October 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
68. Ernest Walker Sawyer to Burlew, 25 October 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.
69. Ray Lyman Wilbur to the President, 27 October 1930; Arthur W. Hyde Memo No. 605, 17 November 1930; and C.F. Adams to Lawrence Richey, 4 December 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.
70. Ernest Walker Sawyer to U.S. Geological Survey, 8 November 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
71. Philip S. Smith to E.W. Sawyer, 13 November 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA. Copy in File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

72. Ernest Walker Sawyer, Memorandum: "Relative to the temporary reservation at Tetlin," 18 November 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA. Copy in File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.

73. E.W. Sawyer to Mr. Havell, 18 November 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA. Copy in File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.

74. C.C. Moore to Mr. Sawyer, 29 November 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

75. Ernest Walker Sawyer to General Land Office, 1 December 1930; C.C. Moore to Mr. Sawyer, 2 December 1930; Ernest Walker Sawyer to Commissioner Cooper, 4 December 1930; George Otis, Jr., to Mr. Sawyer, 4 December 1930, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

76. Burlew to Gov. of Alaska, 10 December 1930; Theile to Burlew, 10 December 1930; and H.G. Watson to Gov. Parks, 10 December 1930, Governors' Papers, Roll 129, frames 627-38. See also Governor Parks to Burlew, 15 December 1930; and Ray Lyman Wilbur to Commissioner, General Land Office, 16 December 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA; C.C. Moore to Register and

Receiver, Fairbanks, 7 January 1931, and Robert W. Taylor to Commissioner, General Land Office, 21 July 1930, File F-020518, Part 3, Docket, Bureau of Land Management, Alaska State Office, Anchorage. Copies of Moore's January 7th memo are also in File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; and in File 060 Tetlin Village, 3/1/30-11/6/68, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fairbanks.

77. Ernest Walker Sawyer, "Note on Tetlin," 19 November 1930, File 9-1-52, RG 126, NA.
78. Malcolm Elliott to Ernest Walker Sawyer, 15 November 1930, Ernest Walker Sawyer to Major Malcolm Elliott, 20 November 1930, File—"Fur Farming in Alaska," E.W. Sawyer Alaska File, D-G, 1931-32, Box 6, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA.
79. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 30 December 1930.
80. Cordova Daily Times, 10 February 1931.
81. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner clipping, 11 March 1931, File—"Fur Farming in Alaska," E.W. Sawyer Alaska Files.

D-G, 1931-32, Box 6, Records of the Office of the
Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA.

82. Ernest Walker Sawyer to Irving McK. Reed, 7 April 1931, File—"Tetlin (1930-32)," General Correspondence, Alaska Division, 1934-35, Box 258, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, NA.
83. "Memorandum for Mr. Sawyer," File 9-1-52, RG 75, NA.
84. John Hajdukovich to Ernest Walker Sawyer, 2 August 1930, File—"Fur Farming in Alaska," Box 6, D-G, 1931-32, and Ernest Walker Sawyer to Commissioner Cooper, 4 November 1930, File-Commissioner Cooper, Box 5, A-C, 1931-32, E.W. Sawyer Alaska File, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48, NA.
85. Ernest Walker Sawyer to Commissioner Cooper, 12 November 1930, File-Commissioner Cooper, Box 5, A-C, 1931-32, E.W. Sawyer Alaska File, RG 48, NA.
86. Harold N. Graves to George A. Parks, 30 October 1930, and Governor to Harold N. Graves, 14 November 1930, Governors' Papers, Roll 179, frames 576-77, 579; and

Ricks, Directory of Alaska Postoffices and Postmasters, p. 65.

87. E.K. Burlew to Cooper, 14 January 1931, JH File, RG 75, NA.
88. H. Wendell Endicott to Ray Lyman Wilbur, 27 January 1931, JH File, RG 75, NA.
89. Ray Lyman Wilbur to Edward Mallinckrodt, 26 January 1931, to H. Wendell Endicott, 31 January 1931, JH File, RG 75, NA.
90. William John Cooper to "My dear Mr. Hawkesworth," 24 January 1931, JH File, RG 75, NA.
91. Wilbur to Governor, 9 March 1931, Governors' Papers, Roll 178, frame 167; and E.W. Sawyer to Mr. Scattergood, 26 March 1931, File—"Tetlin (1930-32)," General Correspondence, Alaska Division, 1934-35, Box 258, RG 75, NA.
92. E. Mallinckrodt, Jr., to Ray Lyman Wilbur, 30 April 1931, and Ray Lyman Wilbur to Dr. W. Carson Ryan, 30 April 1931, File 5-1, part 1, Indian Affairs.

Schools, April 14, 1931-October 30, 1936, Central
Classified Files, 1907-36, Box 1068, RG 48, NA; and
E. Mallinckrodt, Jr., to Ray Lyman Wilbur, 2 May 1931.
Ray Lyman Wilbur to E. Mallinckrodt, Jr., 5 May 1931.
File-Commissioner Cooper, Box 5, A-C, 1931-32.
E.W. Sawyer Alaska File, RG 48, NA.

93. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., to John Hajdukovich [sic], 5 May 1931, File-"Tetlin (1930-32)," General Correspondence, Alaska Division, 1934-35, Box 258, RG 75, NA.
94. JH to Mr. Mallinckrodt, 2 April 1931, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks.
95. JH to Edward Mallinckrodt, 26 June 1931, File 45, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
96. Scattergood to JH, 6 July 1931, File 49, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.
97. Fairbanks Daily News-Miner, 28 July 1931.
98. W. Carson Ryan, Jr., to Edward Mallinckrodt, 12 March 1932, JH File, RG 75, NA.

99. E. Mallinckrodt, Jr., to W. Carson Ryan, Jr., 30 May 1932, and W. Carson Ryan, Jr., to E. Mallinckrodt, 22 April 1932, File—"Tetlin (1930-32)," General Correspondence, Alaska Division, 1934-35, Box 258, RG 75, NA.

100. JH to W. Carson Ryan, Jr., 25 August 1932, File 66, Box 2, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

101. C.J. Rhoads to Paul W. Gordon, 11 August 1932, JH File, RG 75, NA; Arthur H. Miller to JH, 13 September 1932, Tetlin File, JH papers, Alaska Division of Parks; Miller to JH, 7 October 1932, File 49, Box 1, and Milo Hajdukovich to JH, 15 December 1932, File 30, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska; and John Collier to Anthony J. Dimond, 31 August 1933, and "Public Works Projects for Native Settlements. Prepared by Dr. Paul W. Gordon, Director of Education, Office of Indian Affairs, Alaska," File 21, Public Works Files, Box 21, Anthony J. Dimond Papers, Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

102. JH to Edward Mallinckrodt, 8 August 1933, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo.

103. Alaska Game Commission, "Eleventh Annual Report . . . December 1, 1935 to October 31, 1936," p. 69.

104. Alaska Game Commission, "Eighth Annual Report . . . November 1, 1931 to October 31, 1932," p. 38; and Jack O'Connor to Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, 3 June 1946, Alaska Game Commission microfilm in Alaska Resources Library, Anchorage.

105. Alaska Game Commission, "Eighth Annual Report," p. 42.

106. Alaska Game Commission, "Quarterly Report for the Period July 1 to September 30, 1938," pp. 1, 4; and Frank Dufresne to JH, 23 July 1938, File 3, Box 1. Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

107. Transcript of Proceedings, p. 1325; Frank Chapados report, 24 October 1949 (account of an interview with Herman Kessler), File 920.2 Trapping (Tetlin, Tanacross, Northway), Box 1603, Juneau Area Office, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, FRC.

108. J.A. Singleton to R.E. Sheldon, 10 February 1939; Sheldon to Chief Clerk, Railway Mail Service, 12 March 1939; W.E. Triem to Postmaster, Fairbanks, 24 April

1941, to General Superintendent, Division of Railway Mail Service, 24 April 1941, Contracts for the Steamboat Mail Service, Alaska, 1938-42, Bureau of the Assistant Postmaster General, Records of the Post Office Department, RG 28, NA.

109. E.A. McIntosh to Mr. Hirst, 6 March 1937.
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau. Hirst complied.
See Claude M. Hirst to Harlan G. McMillan, 19 March 1937, to E.A. McIntosh, 19 March 1937, in same file.

110. JH to Mr. Mallinckrodt, 21 January 1938, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo.

111. Moses Burge, "Report of Representative: Indians of the Upper Tanana Region of Alaska, September 1938," 25 October 1938, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo. Both Mallinckrodt and John K. Howard read the report. Howard expressed the hope that the American Association of Indian Affairs would pursue the recommendations. See John K. Howard to Edward Mallinckrodt, Jr., 17 January 1939, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo. For Ted Lowell's opinion of McIntosh's work with the Indians, see Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1326-27..

112. John Herrick to Oliver La Farge, 28 December 1938.
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
113. Fred A. Dimler to John Herrick, 25 January 1939.
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; Fred A. Dimler,
"Quarterly Report for Quarter Ended September 30,
1939," 9 October 1939, File 820.0, Tetlin Quarterly
Attendance Reports, 1938-48, Juneau Area Office,
Box 0277, RG 75, FRC.
114. Fred A. Dimler, "Description of Area to be Included in
the Tetlin Reserve," 8 April 1941, File 1101.01, BIA
Records, Juneau; copy also in File 307.3 Northway #1,
Juneau Area Office, FRC Box 62766, RG 75, FRC
(hereafter referred to as File 307.3 Northway #1,
RG 75, FRC). See also petitions from Tetlin dated
30 March 1940 and Nabesna and Scotty Creek villages
about 1940 in file 307.3 cited above; and a petition
from Healy Lake, Sam Creek and Tanacross about 1941 in
File 1101.01 cited above.
115. Titus David and Walter Northway to "Whomever this may
concern," 3 June 1941, File 307.3 Northway #1, RG 75,
FRC; copy also in File 22052, Central Classified
Files, 1907-56, RG 75, NA (hereafter referred to as
File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA).

116. Fred A. Dimler to Mr. Fitzsimmons and petition, 23 April 1941, Donald W. Hagerty to Fred A. Dimler, 8 May 1941, Fred A. Dimler to Mr. Hagerty, 3 June 1941, File 307.3 Northway #1, RG 75, FRC; Walter Northway, Tetlin to Jonahtn [sic] M. Steere, 3 June 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.
117. House Joint Memorial No. 16; Joel D. Wolfsohn to George A. Parks, 8 April 1941, to Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs, 8 April 1941, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
118. Moris Burge to Donald Hagerty, 8 April 1941, Donald W. Hagerty to Moses Burge, 21 April 1941, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau. See also John Collier to Moris Burge, 5 December 1940, in same file.
119. Moris Burge to Donald W. Hagerty, 1 June 1941, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
120. E.A. McIntosh to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 22 April 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.
121. Matthew K. Sniffen to William Zimmerman, Jr., 8 May 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

122. E.A. McIntosh to Anthony J. Dimond, 29 April 1941,
FILE 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

123. Charles W. Hawkesworth to Peter Joe, 28 October 1940,
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; William Zimmerman,
Jr., to Claude M. Hirst, 11 June 1941, File 1101.01,
BIA Records, Juneau and File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA;
Matthew K. Sniffen to William Zimmerman, Jr., 8 May
1941 and Anthony J. Dimond to William Zimmerman, Jr.,
9 May 1949, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

124. Walter Northway to Land Office, 7 June 1941, George A.
Lingo to Claud [sic] M. Hirst, 17 June 1941,
File 307.3 Northway #1, RG 75, FRC.

125. Chief Walter Northway to Mr. Hirst, 20 July 1941,
Mrs. Fred A. Dimler to Office of General
Superintendent, 22 July 1941, Donald W. Hagerty to
Walter Northway, 29 July 1941, to Mrs. Fred A. Dimler,
5 August 1941, File 307.3 Northway #1, RG 75, NA.

126. Claude M. Hirst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
21 July 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA and
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

127. George W. Folta to Mr. Hirst, 23 June 1941.
File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA and File 1101.01, BIA
Records, Juneau.

128. Walter Isaac and Silas Solomon to Anthony J. Dimond,
19 December 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

129. A.J. Dimond to William Zimmerman, Jr., 30 January
1942, Presnael (?) to Mr. Cline, n.d., William
Zimmerman, Jr. to Anthony J. Dimond, 11 February 1942.
File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA. A copy of Zimmerman's
letter is also in File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

130. Titus David to Claude M. Hirst, 14 October 1940.
File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

131. Fred R. Geeslin to C.M. Hunt, 19 November 1940,
John B. Hall to Fred R. Geeslin, 17 December 1940.
File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

132. George S. Fleischman to General Superintendent, Alaska
Indian Service, 12 December 1940, Daniel Ross to
Register, U.S. Land Office, Fairbanks, 23 December
1940, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

133. John B. Hall to Daniel Ross, 30 December 1940, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

134. A.J. McCrary to D.T. Denny, 18 March 1941, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

135. A.J. McCrary to Herman Kessler, 10 June 1941, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage; A.J. McCrary to Dale B. Whiteside, 18 July 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

136. Herman Kessler to Division of Investigation, 25 June 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA. See also J.H. Favorite to Director of Investigations, 28 July 1941, Dale B. Whiteside to Commissioner, Office of Indian Affairs, 6 August 1941, Allan G. Harper to Director of Investigations, 25 August 1941, in same file.

137. Walter W. Phippeny to General Superintendent, 21 March 1942, Claude M. Hirst to Walter W. Phippeny, 23 February 1942, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA.

138. Peter Joe et al. to General Superintendent, 11 July 1942, File 064 Tetlin-Minutes of Meetings, Juneau Area

Office, FRC 1601, RG 75, FRC; Peter Joe et al. to General Superintendent, 21 July 1942. Minutes of Meetings, 25 July 1942 and 29 July 1942, File 064-Tanacross- Minutes of Meetings, FRC 1601, Juneau Area Office, RG 75, FRC.

139. Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 1334-35.

140. Herman Kessler to John, 27 March 1940, File 40, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

141. H. Kessler to JH, 1 May 1940, File 40, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

142. JH to "Mr. Melinckrodt" [sic], 30 May 1941, File 45, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

143. William Zimmerman, Jr. to Matthew K. Sniffen, 29 May 1941, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

144. Fred R. Geeslin to William Zimmerman, Jr., 24 April 1943, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

145. K.F. Goodson to William J. Niemi, 3 December 1950,
File 20, Fairbanks Annual Report 1952, Box 65429,
RG 30, FRC.

146. George A. Parks to Mr. Wheat, n.d. [1943], File 307.3
Northway #1, RG 75, FRC.

147. T.W. Wheat to William Zimmerman, Jr., 21 October 1943,
T.W. Wheat, "Proposal for the Northway Indian
Reservation," 21 October 1943, File 307.3 Northway #1,
RG 75, FRC. Walter Northway to T.W. Wheat, 15 June
1943, in same file. See also T.W. Wheat to
Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 25 October 1943,
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau and File 22052, CCF,
RG 75, NA. On Collier's letter of 21 January 1942
appears "800,000 Wheat."

148. For Haas' and Goldschmidt's trip, see Minutes of
Meetings, 12 July 1946 and Minutes of Community
Meeting, 12 July 1946, File 064 Tanacross-Minutes of
Meetings, FRC 1601, Juneau Area Office, RG 75, FRC.
For revocation of PLO 386, see Hugh J. Wade to
Director, Bureau of Land Management, 27 May 1953,
File 307.3 Northway #2, RG 75, FRC; Lowell M. Puckett
to Hugh Wade, 1 October 1953, Hugh J. Wade to

Lowell M. Puckett, 13 October 1953, File 307.3
Northway #1, RG 75, FRC; Lowell M. Puckett to
William A. Olson, 5 April 1954, William H. Olson to
Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 23 April 1954,
Lowell M. Puckett to William H. Olson, 26 April 1954,
George W. Mathis to William H. Olson, 27 July 1954,
File 307.3 Northway #1, RG 75, FRC.

149. Rental agreement signed by JH and Lt. C.F. Rose,
4 August 1942, File 81, Box 2, JH Papers, Archives,
University of Alaska.

150. Receipt for lumber sold to Army from 11 October 1942
to 5 November 1942, Personal Papers Folder, JH Papers,
Alaska Division of Parks. This folder contains
references to one million feet of lumber sawed at the
Tok mill in the fall of 1943. He filed for a
timber-cutting permit (05008) on 6 October 1942. As
late as 1948 the Bureau of Land Management was
attempting to collect \$228.50 from him and to
determine the names of the buyers of the lumber. See
Virgil T. Heath to JH, Tok Junction, 7 December 1949,
Land Papers File, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks;
and "Cost of Logs delivered at Tok Mill Site at Tok
Bridge Alaska Highway by Floating the Logs down the

Tok River," File 159, Box 3, JH Papers, Archives,
University of Alaska.

151. Sterling to Steese, 26 April 1927, Steese to Sterling,
28 April 1927, R.J. Sommers to Col. James G. Steese,
2 May 1927, Hawley W. Sterling to Col. James G.
Steese, 19 August 1927, Noyes to Grandison, 28 October
1927, File SP-1 Tetlin 13/159-28, Box 65432, RG 30,
FRC; Arthur H. Miller to John Hajdukovich,
13 September 1932, Tetlin File, JH Papers, Alaska
Division of Parks. In November 1940 the Indian
Service noted the recent construction of an airfield
at Tetlin under the direction of the Territorial
highway engineer. See Fred R. Geedin to C.M. Hunt,
19 November 1940, File 20518, Part 3, BLM Records,
Anchorage.

152. John Hajdukovich to Ed Mallinckrodt, 13 September
1945, Mallinckrodt Papers, St. Louis, Mo.; Frank Nash
to Alaska Road Commission, 12 June 1945, Sterling to
Nash, 26 June 1945, File 13/156-28, Box 65432, RG 30,
FRC; Frank Nash, "Description and Statement of Work
Accomplished, Fairbanks District, Nov. 1, 1945 to
Oct. 31, 1946," File 20/A Annual Report 1946,
Box 65429, RG 30, FRC.

153. Frank Nash to ARC, 25 January 1946, JH to Leonard Smith, 11 June 1946, Skinner to Nash, 14 June 1946, Frank Nash to ARC, 13 November 1946, File 13/156-28, Box 65432, RG 30, FRC.

154. Frank A. Metcalf to John Hajdirckovich [sic], 25 April 1949, Senator John Butrovich to Frank A. Metcalf, 20 May 1949, JH to Frank Metcalf, 8 May 1949, Frank Metcalf to JH, 11 May 1949, JH to Frank A. Metcalf, 21 October 1949, Sigurd Wien to Frank Metcalf, 9 November 1949, File 47, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska.

155. JH to C.A. "Cliff" Schonacker, 14 February 1947, File 67, Percy D. Pringle to JH, 6 February 1950, File 21, Walter and Bill Northway to JH, 26 February 1950, File 54, Box 1, JH Papers, Archives, University of Alaska; and Transcript of Proceedings, p. 112.

156. W.P. Plett to JH, 3 March 1949; Fairbanks Land Office, "Lease of Lands for Use as a Public Airport," 20 December 1951, Land Papers File, JH Papers, Alaska Division of Parks. JH to Leo Saarela, 27 September 1957, File 14, Box 1, JH to Manager, Fairbanks Land Office, 14 April 1959, File 62, Box 2, Grady S.

Rollins and JH to Manager, Fairbanks Land Office,
7 November 1959, JH to L.H. Saarela, 13 May 1960,
File 14, Box 1, JH to Bill Eisenmenger, 8 August 1963,
File 24, Box 1, JH Papers, University of Alaska,
E.L. Bartlett to JH, 19 May 1964, File "H", General
Correspondence Files, Box 11, Bartlett Papers,
Archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks.

PART THREE
THE TETLIN RESERVE BOUNDARY

Almost from the very beginning, the location of the Tetlin Reserve boundary was a source of confusion. In January 1931, a prospector and trapper named Ole Fredricksen wrote to Governor Parks for information about the effect of the withdrawal on the activities of white prospectors and trappers in the area. Some white men had been working in the area for years, he claimed. He himself had been planning on a prospecting trip to the Nabesna River country, plans that he was forced to cancel after having been told to stay out of the Reserve. He thus wanted to know the location of the boundary between the villages of Tetlin and Nabesna. Parks assured him in response that the Reserve was temporary in nature and that steps were already being taken to reduce the size of the Reserve "to the minimum requirements for the purposes outlined in the Executive Order." He believed that trapping by whites was not permitted in the Reserve, but there was no objection to prospecting. Parks did not attempt to describe the location of the Reserve boundary between Tetlin and Nabesna, but quoted the complete description of the Reserve boundaries in the Executive Order. 1/

"Who described these boundaries any way?" Fredricksen wrote to Parks. "I have lived in this country a long time and cannot

locate them." Again he asked the Governor for information about the location of the boundary between the two villages, inasmuch as he could not find a map showing the location of Kalutna River. Parks replied that he did not know where exactly Kalutna River was located; he assumed that the river was "one of the small streams which enters the Tanana about 20 miles above Tetlin Lakes." 2/

Questions over the location of the Reserve boundaries did not receive serious consideration in official circles until after 1940, when the Office of Indian Affairs requested survey of the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve, among others. In 1941, when the Land Office prepared special instructions for U.S. Survey No. 2547, the question of the location of the Reserve boundaries was faced squarely for the first time.

The Juneau office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated the request for a survey of the Tetlin Reserve boundaries. On April 19, 1940, Donald W. Hagerty, the senior field agent in the Juneau office, sent a report to Washington with a recommendation that the Tetlin, Norton Bay, Tatitlek, Akiak, and Noorvik reserves be surveyed. Several weeks later, Claude M. Hirst, the General Superintendent, requested the Washington office to discuss the matter of the Tetlin Reserve survey with the General Land Office; from discussions with

district cadastral engineer George A. Parks, the former Governor of Alaska, he understood that the survey would not require a special appropriation, that it could be made within the Land Office's regular appropriation. Both Chief Peter Joe and Fred A. Dimler were informed by the Juneau office of the request for the Tetlin Reserve survey. 3/

On May 27, 1940 the Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs formally requested the General Land Office to authorize the preparation of survey instructions for the various reserves. The Land Office issued the authority on August 12 and so informed the Office of Indian Affairs on November 1. District cadastral engineer George A. Parks also completed the special instructions for the Tetlin Reserve on November 1. 4/

In fact, Parks prepared two special instructions for the Tetlin Reserve survey: one dated November 1, 1940 and the other dated July 12, 1941. The latter was the one that was approved by the Washington office of the General Land Office. In both instructions Parks attempted to describe the location of the boundary on the basis of the U.S. Geological Survey's Map 48-Slana-Tok District of 1937, an exercise that required him to apply considerable interpretation to the description in the Executive Order. He described the problem as follows:

The description in the Executive Order is so indefinite in its terms that it is impossible to make a survey of the boundaries unless they are modified and more carefully described. There are only three fixed points and only one of these is shown with any degree of accuracy on the Geological Survey map. The Reserve was created more than ten years ago and at the present time representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs are wholly unfamiliar with the area. Consequently they are unable to furnish any information about the boundaries other than that contained in the Executive Order. 5/

Given the ambiguity of the description, Parks recommended that prior to the survey the Office of Indian Affairs in Juneau be requested to detail a field agent to accompany the Land Office surveyor with authority to approve any deviation from the boundary description in the survey instructions.

The special instructions of 1940 and 1941 otherwise differed in significant details. These differences stemmed in large part from Park's interpretation of the location of the old trail crossing of Tok River cited in the Executive Order. In the 1940 instructions Parks interpreted this reference to be the Eagle Trail crossing on the upper Tok River, and without explanation proposed that the westerly boundary of the Reserve

be surveyed along projected section lines--as if the rectangular survey system had been extended to the area. As Parks recognized, this survey would have included much of the valley west of the Tok River in the Reserve. From the mouth of the Porcupine Creek, the surveyor was to run a line

westerly to the Third Guide Meridian East, Copper River Meridian, which has been surveyed to the north boundary of T. 18 N., R. 12 E. The boundary will then be continued south to the Fourth Standard Parallel North. From this point the Fourth Standard Parallel will be extended west to the theoretical position for the closing corner between sections 4 and 5, T. 16 N., R. 12 E. From this point boundary will be extended south on the west boundary of sections 4 and 9 to corner of Sections 8, 9, 16 and 17, T. 16 N., R. 12 E. Thence west to the west boundary of the township; thence south to the theoretical position for the corner between sections 19 and 30; thence westerly to the theoretical position for the corner of sections 22, 23, 26 and 27, T. 16 N., R. 11 E.; thence south to the theoretical position for the corner between sections 34 and 35 on the south boundary T. 16 N., R. 11 E.; thence west along the south boundary T. 16 N., R. 11 E., three miles to the position for the corner between sections 5 and 6, 7 and 8, to the Tok River.

The line was to strike the Tok River near the Eagle Trail crossing of the river; it was not to coincide with the trail crossing.

In his interpretation of the southerly boundary of the Reserve, Parks was forced with a knotty problem for the Executive Order stated simply that the boundary followed the natural divide between the tributaries of the Tetlin lakes and the tributaries of the Little Tok River. The Executive Order did not describe the line from the Tok River to the divide. Assuming that such a line would traverse some eight miles of "extremely rugged" country, the demarcation of which would serve "no useful purpose," Parks thought it was "far more practicable to describe the boundary by natural features." Accordingly, he instructed the surveyor to extend the line from the point on the Tok River near the Eagle Trail crossing "across the Tok River to the right bank and thence east to the right bank of the Little Tok." The line should then follow the right bank of the Little Tok River

to its intersection with the Third Standard Parallel North in R. 11 E.; thence following east along the Third Standard Parallel North to the summit of the divide between the small tributaries of the Little Tok River; thence along the divide on the north side of Buck Creek to the water shed of

the Tetling River; thence following the water shed of the Tetling Lakes drainage to the headwaters of Bear Creek; thence around the head of Bear Creek to the east bank of the Kalutna River; thence along the east bank of the Kalutna River to the Tanana River.

Since the boundary from the Little Tok River to the Tanana River was defined by natural features, Parks proposed that it not be surveyed or monumented.

It is presently unknown whether Parks sent the 1940 instructions to Washington for approval. The original instructions have not been found; only a copy with the word "Canceled" and the initial "P" (doubtlessly Parks) written in pencil on it is available. Given too the absence of any communications from the Washington Office of the General Land Office regarding the 1940 instructions, it is entirely probable that Parks did not send the instructions to Washington. If this was in fact the case, Parks had good reason. First, he knew that his description of the southern boundary of the Reserve was at variance with the description in the Executive Order, and admitted as much in the special instructions. This fact in conjunction with his belief that the Executive Order description was too vague for survey, may have persuaded him that the special instructions would not have been approved in

any case. This may also explain why Parks prepared special instructions for the other reserves first, leaving the Tetlin Reserve for last. Finally, Parks was probably aware of the petition of the Tetlin Indians for an enlarged reserve, and may have decided to delay action on the special instructions until the Bureau of Indian Affairs responded to the petition. In a letter dated December 23 to the Fairbanks Land Office, Daniel Ross quoted the following from a memorandum attached to the 1940 special instructions: "After the Special Instructions for this survey were written, the Office of Indian Affairs received communications from the natives at Tetling requesting that the Reserve be enlarged. The instructions should be held until some decision has been made regarding the petition." 6/

Why then did Parks prepare another set of special instructions in 1941 and send it to Washington for approval? Although still convinced that the Executive Order description needed to be amended, Parks evidently obtained information from someone with knowledge about certain features mentioned in the Executive Order, information that clarified in his mind as to what were the intended locations of the westerly and easterly boundaries in particular. Confident in his understanding of the Executive Order description in light of this new information, Parks sent the 1941 special instructions to Washington without regard to

the outcome of the Tetlin Indians' petition for an enlarged reserve.

Considering the great expense of surveying the entire Reserve boundary and the pressing need to locate on the ground those portions of the boundary not defined by natural features, Parks proposed the survey of the boundary from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the trail crossing of Tok River, from the Tok River crossing to the nearest point on the divide between the drainage basins of Tetlin lakes and Tok River, and finally, from the Tanana River to the head of the tributaries of Ladue River. The remainder of the boundary could be marked by cairns where necessary.

Again using U.S. Geological Survey Map 48 of 1937 as his basic reference, Parks intended the surveyor to locate the shortest line from the mouth of Porcupine Creek, a local name that did not appear on the map, to the south bank of the Tanana River, and thence southwesterly on a constant bearing of approximately twelve miles to a point where "the old trail crosses the Tok River." Parks observed that this point was not shown on the map, but noted that the "old trail" was well known in the district. Local residents informed him that the trail crossing was about twelve miles from the Tanana River. He assumed that this figure was probably greater than the actual distance.

In the belief that the order intended to reserve the entire drainage basin of the Tetlin lakes, Parks proposed the survey of a line more than twenty miles long from the Tok River crossing to the nearest point on the divide between the Tetlin River and Tok River drainage basins. From this point, which Parks placed in approximately latitude $63^{\circ}12'30''$ N., longitude $142^{\circ}54'$ W., the boundary followed the divide around the head of Bear Creek (shown as Tuck Creek on the map), and thence around the head of Tetlin River to a point on the divide at the head of the East Fork of Kalutna River. It then followed the east bank of that river and Kalutna River to its confluence with the Tanana River.

In describing the eastern boundary of the Reserve, Parks relied in part on the U.S. Geological Survey's Topographic Reconnaissance Map of Upper Tanana Valley Region of 1922. At the mouth of Kalutna River, the surveyor was to locate the shortest line to the north bank of the Tanana River, and then place substantial monuments on both sides of the Tanana River. He was then to survey a line bearing northeasterly from the monument on the north bank of Tanana River to the summit of a peak marked 3330 on the U.S. Geological Survey's 1922 map. From this peak, according to Parks, the boundary followed the natural divide to Porcupine Creek, and thence down that stream to the point of beginning.

The Washington Office of the General Land Office approved the special instructions on August 16, 1941 with minor exceptions. Ironically, it was Thomas A. Havell, the same man who in 1930 was involved in the creation of the reserve, who reviewed Parks instructions. Havell directed Parks to strike his comments regarding the ambiguous description of the Reserve boundaries in the Executive Order. If what Parks wrote in the special instructions was true, Havell stated, "the Executive Order would be void for lack of certainty." He was informed, however, that "the Executive Order appears to be consistent in form with orders of that general type, and probably it is as accurate as can be given in advance of an actual survey on the ground." As far as the survey instructions were concerned, Havell directed no major changes. Where Parks proposed the survey of the boundary crossings of the Tanana River on the basis of the shortest line, Havell directed the survey of a straight line from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the old trail crossing of Tok River, located approximately in latitude $63^{\circ}23'$ N., longitude $142^{\circ}42'$ W., and another straight line from the east bank of Kalutna River at its mouth to the mountain summit with an elevation of 3,300 feet. Havell believed these changes were fully justified upon examination of the U.S. Geological Survey's Topographic Reconnaissance Map of Upper Tanana Valley Region of 1922, on which the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve were drawn in pencil. Finally, he recommended

that unsurveyed portions of the boundary be sketched on the plat, using the best available information such as the latest U.S. Geological Survey topographic sheets and aerial photographs, if available. 7/

Forced to react to numerous requests for military land withdrawals in Alaska shortly before and during World War II, the General Land Office deferred the survey of the Tetlin Reserve. Beginning in 1947, however, the Bureau of Indian Affairs again pressured the Land Office to survey the Reserve, partly because it was uncertain whether Tok Junction and the proposed Taylor Highway were located within the Reserve and partly because non-Natives were probably settling within the Reserve along the Alaska Highway, selling liquor to the Indians, and hunting, fishing, and trapping in the Reserve. After attempting to respond to Alaska Road Commission and War Department requests for information regarding the need for an easement or right-of-way for the proposed Taylor Highway and whether military improvements at Tok Junction were within the Reserve, the Alaska Indian Service in April 1947 brought the boundary problem to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs' attention: "You will note on the attached maps, the Tetlin Reserve is shown. We do not know which, if either is correct. The boundaries can be shown in many different places, depending on whether one uses the Road Commission map, the Air Corps

charts put out by the Coast and Geodetic Survey, or the Geological Survey maps (which, for example, differ among themselves in showing the location of the Kalutna River, one of the Reserve boundary markers)."^{8/}

The influx of non-Native settlers into the Upper Tanana district caused the Indians a great deal of concern over the impact on their hunting and trapping grounds. The Tetlin Indians in particular wanted to post "No Trespassing" signs on the Alaska Highway where the Reserve boundaries crossed it. However, according to James B. Strong, an administrative assistant with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, in a letter to the Area Director in March 1947, the Indians "naturally do not know the points of entry." Neither did the Anchorage and Fairbanks land offices. Discounting the position of the Public Survey Office in Juneau that it lacked the funds and personnel to survey the Reserve boundaries, Strong thought that it would not be difficult to survey segments of the boundary crossing the Alaska Highway; that is, the line from the mouth of Porcupine Creek in "the direction of the highway crossing of Tok River (formerly the Eagle Trail crossing), which point is already located by survey" and the line extending from the mouth of the Kalutna River to the tributaries of Ladue Creek. He requested that the matter be discussed with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for a survey of the eastern and western boundaries

would help the Alaska Native Service "immeasurably in land trespass problems which continually crop up." 9/

Later in 1947 Strong and W.G. Brunskill visited the Upper Tanana district and collected evidence of possible trespassers on the Reserve. Near the Tok River bridge on the Alaska Highway they discovered two men named Max Douglas and Arnie Hoitink (or Arne W. Hoitink), both of whom had licenses to sell liquor, constructing buildings. Douglas' place was about five hundred yards east of the bridge. Strong and Brunskill disagreed on the location of Hoitink's establishment. Strong citing five hundred yards east of Douglas' place, Brunskill stating it was about three hundred yards east of Douglas' and on the opposite side of the road. In any case they believed that both men were located in the Reserve, despite the assurances of H.F. Carlisle, a Bureau of Land Management field examiner, that they were not. Strong believed that the Tok River bridge was located partly within the Reserve. The Tetlin Indians maintained, however, that the Reserve boundary crossed the highway west of the bridge. "The Tetlin Natives, who have stood on hills and calculated the line from landmarks say that the reserve boundary crosses the highway 2.6 miles west of the Tok bridge," he reported. Jesse Matt, the Government teacher, had already placed signs on the highway marking the western and eastern boundary crossings. Neither Strong nor Brunskill

believed that the western boundary crossing was correctly identified.

The Tetlin Indians wanted both Douglas and Hoitink evicted from the area since they intended to sell liquor. Evidently they once supplied the Indians with liquor while they were loading a boat with freight for Tetlin Village; and in the spring of 1947 Douglas and a Frank Holbrook went to the village with a number of cases of liquor to trade for furs. In contrast, the Indians were favorably disposed to letting Ray Scoby and Clarence Post with their families remain in the Reserve. These two families were located at the junction of the Alaska and Taylor highways (Tetlin Junction) where for the past year and a half they had been building a service station, restaurant, living quarters, and rental cabins. Scoby and Post were "fine people who have the welfare of the Natives at heart," wrote Strong; they did not intend to sell liquor and confined their trapping activities to an area north of the Reserve where the Indians did not trap. Both know that they were located within the Reserve and were willing to lease about twenty acres of land from the Indians. Inasmuch as the Tetlin Indians were in favor of the lease proposal, Strong promised to prepare a lease agreement and send it to the Council for ratification and then to the Secretary of the Interior for approval. 10/

As a result of the trip, Strong believed the need to survey the western and eastern boundaries to be greater than ever before, and lashed out at the Bureau of Land Management for the delay. "When it was recently determined that the area along the highway should be opened to (white) settlement, the Bureau of Land Management immediately got busy and surveyed numerous parcels of land along the road for business and homesites, although not a finger was lifted to help the previous (Indian) inhabitants ascertain the boundaries of their land," he wrote. Now, the Bureau of Land Management proposed to exclude the land on the north side of the Alaska Highway or the Tanana River! "This would be disastrous to the native economy," Strong claimed. One-third of the Tetlin Indians operated their principal traplines in this area, and the remainder occasionally trapped the area. If the land were excluded from the Reserve, transient white trappers would over-run the area, as they were doing in the vicinity of Tanacross and Northway. Strong was convinced that the Bureau of Land Management was pursuing an anti-Indian reservation policy, and cited another example where the Bureau was "trying to pull the wool over our eyes." Upon receiving a timber-cutting application from Post and Scoby, the Bureau granted the permit for cutting timber on the Reserve and accepted payment for the lumber. Even Scoby and Post argued that the funds should have been given to the Indians. 11/

Doubtless Strong's opinions about the Bureau of Land Management reflected the sentiments of his supervisors. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was particularly upset about the withdrawal by Public Land Order 386 (July 31, 1947) of parcels at Midway Lake, Tetlin Junction, and Clearwater Creek (tributary of Tok River), all of which appeared to be located within the Tetlin Reserve. On September 30, 1947 Don C. Foster, the Area Director, telegrammed a vigorous protest to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs over the withdrawals, claiming that the Bureau of Land Management never conferred with his office about the withdrawals. The Bureau was "trying to pull a fast one on us," he stated: "[t]hese lands were given to Indians in good faith and we must keep that faith." 12/

As the Land Office attempted to record the Public Land Order 386 withdrawals, it was again forced to address the location of the Tetlin Reserve boundary. This time there was a note of urgency as many men recently discharged from military service sought to locate homesteads along the new roads. In May 1948, Fred J. Weiler, acting manager of the Fairbanks Land Office, complained to Harold T. Jorgenson, acting chief of the Land Planning Division, of problems in determining what lands along the Alaska Highway were included in the Northway and Tanacross withdrawals. Both were described in Public Land Order 386 on the basis of the U.S. Geological Survey's

Topographic Reconnaissance Map of Upper Tanana Valley Region, Alaska of 1922. Weiler was unable to obtain a copy of this map, and the U.S. Geological Survey's Map 53-Eastern Tanana District of 1942 did not show the names of some streams referred to in the land order. He thus asked Jorgenson for a map delineating the boundaries of the proposed Northway and Tanacross reservations, and the Tetlin Reserve. 13/

Jorgenson had a map prepared showing the boundaries of the two withdrawals and the Reserve, and sent it to Washington for review. Late that fall he learned from officials in Washington that the boundaries which he had delineated on the topographic map accurately reflected the descriptions provided by the Office of Indian Affairs. Jorgenson subsequently informed Weiler of Washington's advice, and sent him a copy of the U.S. Geological Survey's Map 53 illustrating the boundaries of the three withdrawals. 14/

Upon receiving the map Weiler had the location of the Alaska Highway and the Tok Cut-off drawn in pencil on the map. Much to his surprise, as he wrote Jorgenson, he discovered that the Tok Cut-off "wanders in and out" of the Tetlin Reserve in several places. Believing that settlers were looking for prospective sites along the road, Weiler sent a copy of his map to Jorgenson with the recommendation that signs be placed on

the road where it was crossed by the Reserve boundary. In addition, he suggested that Lowell Puckett, the Regional Administrator, take up the matter of adjusting the Reserve boundary so as to eliminate lands along the Tok Cut-off from the Reserve. 15/

Weiler's proposal to adjust the boundaries of Tetlin Reserve struck a responsive chord. Less than a month before, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs requested the Bureau of Land Management to survey the Tetlin Reserve boundary inasmuch as the Alaska Native Service was having "considerable difficulty" with hunters, trappers, and prospective settlers trespassing on the Reserve. 16/ Hoping to eliminate the need for a complete survey, Bureau of Land Management officials in Washington held informal discussions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the possibility of modifying the Reserve boundaries. William H. Richards, Chief of the Branch of Surveys, informed Lowell Puckett in late October of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' request for a survey of the Tetlin Reserve and the fact that informal discussions on the subject had occurred. Referring to the U.S Geological Survey's Map 53, Richards assumed that the western boundary of the Reserve extended from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the Eagle Trail crossing of Tok River near the mouth of Little Tok River, a distance of about twenty-nine miles. Richards suggested that this boundary line be altered

so as to run from the mouth of Porcupine Creek downstream along the right bank of the Tanana River to the mouth of Tok River, and thence up the middle of Tok River to the mouth of Little Tok River. The line would then extend to and along the natural divide between the Tok and Tetlin River drainage basins. If approved, this modification would add to the Reserve several square miles just above the mouth of Tok River and eliminate a somewhat larger area upstream along the Tok River.

In addition, Richards noted a possible conflict between the reserve and two tracts of land withdrawn by Public Land Order 386, that is, a 160-acre tract at the Fortymile Road junction and a 1,007-acre tract at Midway Lake. The smaller tract as well as the western portion of the larger tract appeared to fall within the boundary of the Tetlin Reserve. He thus requested Puckett to submit a report on the extent of conflict at Midway Lake and the possible existence of settlement claims. 17/

In Alaska, Bureau of Land Management officials greeted the proposal to modify the Tetlin Reserve boundary with hearty approval. Regional forester Roger R. Robinson, who considered the Indian reserves "a hindrance to a normal and efficient development of the area by both Indians and white people alike," recommended that the Tanana River from the mouth of

Kalutna River to the Alaska Highway crossing of the Tanana River form one boundary of the Reserve, and the Tok River from its mouth to the Tok Cut-off bridge on the Tok River form another boundary. If the boundary line was parallel to and one to two miles distant from the Alaska Highway, settlement along both sides of the Alaska Highway could then be permitted. 18/

George E.M. Gustafson, a land economist, and Harold T. Jorgenson did not recommend modification of the boundary line in the Tok River Valley, although both believed that signs should be erected on the Tok Cut-off at those places where the road entered or left the Reserve. Gustafson also recommended the erection of signs on the Alaska Highway, the exclusion of the Fortymile Road junction reserve from the public land order, and the modification of the Midway Lake reserve boundaries so as to eliminate conflict with the Tetlin Reserve. In addition, he believed that the Tanana River-Ladue River portion of the boundary should be surveyed and clearly marked on the ground. Jorgenson favored the modification of the Tetlin Reserve boundary so as to eliminate conflict with the Midway Lake withdrawal; he recommended the Tetlin Reserve boundary be run to and along the Midway Lake reserve and thence to the head of the tributaries of Ladue Creek. He was not averse to modifying the entire northern portion of the Tetlin Reserve boundary, however. In order to "facilitate a uniform administration of

the lands along the Alaska Highway and resolve the problems created by public reservations within the Indian Reservation at Midway Lake and Fortymile." he recommended that the boundary be moved to the middle of the Tanana River channel, as in the case of the Northway and Tanacross withdrawals. It was probable that the Tetlin Indians would oppose this change in the Reserve boundary, but Jorgenson thought the matter should be discussed with the Bureau of Indian Affairs in any case. 19/

Alaska officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were hardly sanguine. Following a trip over the Alaska Highway from the States, Don C. Foster on July 5, 1948 wrote Assistant Commissioner Zimmerman that the Bureau of Land Management approached him on the matter of eliminating all the Reserve above the highway. Noting that the Indians trapped this area regularly and in fact took much of their better fur pelts from it, he recommended against any change in the Reserve boundary in the event that the subject was raised in Washington. A day later he wrote another letter to Zimmerman, this time to protest the Bureau of Land Management's survey of lands at Midway Lake and the junction of the Taylor and Alaska highways. He learned the same day that Leonard M. Berlin, the regional cadastral engineer, had submitted plats to Washington for early approval, even though he knew that "both locations

were on the Tetlin reservation." Zimmerman immediately requested an explanation from the Bureau of Land Management.

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The nature of the Bureau's response to Zimmerman's request is presently unknown. There was additional evidence to support the Bureau of Indian Affairs' claim that the Midway Lake tract was located within the Reserve, however. In November 1948, Leonard M. Berlin reported on the extent of conflict. Pointing out that the location of the northeast boundary of the Tetlin Reserve varied according to which map one had in hand, and the fact that the Executive Order identified the mouth of Kalutna River as the point of beginning for this portion of the boundary, Berlin accepted Richards' identification of the Kalutna River as the Tetlin River. In 1941, when the survey instructions were prepared, the location of the mouth of the Kalutna River was not exactly known. The Geological Survey's map of 1922 simply showed the Kalukna River, which entered the Tanana River about five miles east of the confluence of the Tetlin and Tanana rivers. This river, Berlin believed, was in fact the Kalutna River. The Geological Survey's map of 1942 showed the Kalutna River as flowing into the Tetlin River about five miles from its mouth, while the Tetlin River joined the

Tanana River in about the same latitude and longitude as shown on the Geological Survey's map of 1922.

Thus, if the survey instructions of 1941 were executed, the northeast boundary of Tetlin Reserve would cross Midway Lake on its easterly side, thereby including most if not all of the 1,007-acre tract. If the boundary was surveyed on the basis of the Geological Survey's map of 1942, it would cross the westerly side of Midway Lake. The boundary would still conflict with the Midway Lake tract, but the extent of conflict may not include U.S. Survey No. 2779 consisting of three lots. Of course, the extent of conflict depended upon the location of the head of the tributaries of Ladue Creek. This location varied according to the different maps, and thus would probably require field work. Berlin concluded with the recommendation that the northeast boundary of Tetlin Reserve be run from the divide in accordance with the instructions of 1941. Land lost to the Reserve would be compensated by the extension of the boundary to the mouth of the Tok River. In any case, the Fortymile Road junction would remain entirely within the Tetlin Reserve. 21/

Berlin's report may have been important in the minds of Washington officials on the need to modify the Tetlin Reserve boundaries. Having received requests from the Commissioner of

Indian Affairs to place and maintain signs marking the boundary crossings on the Alaska Highway, since the signs placed by Indian Service officials were repeatedly torn down. Marion Clawson, the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, on December 24, 1948 informed the Commissioner that his office would not erect the signs inasmuch it would require a survey of the eastern and western boundaries to determine the proper location of the signs. "Since the first course [western boundary] is 29 miles long and the preliminary or random line would have to be run for the entire distance, in order to determine the proper location of boundary markers, a modification of the [Executive Order] description . . . would eliminate the necessity for extensive survey procedure," he wrote. 22/

Following a meeting on March 7 concerning the problems of right-of-ways in Alaska, William E. Warne, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, met on the following day with departmental officials to discuss the question of the Tetlin Reserve boundary. According to Warne in a draft memorandum sent for review and comments to the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the directors of the Bureau of Land Management, the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, the Alaska Field Staff, and the National Park Service, "It was concluded at this meeting that it would be highly desirable

from the Department's point of view to set new boundaries for the Tetlin Indian Reserve." It was proposed that the western boundary of the Reserve be bounded by a line on the east side of the Tok Cut-off 150 feet from the centerline; and the northern boundary, by a line on the south side of the Alaska Highway 300 feet from the centerline. The Tetlin Indians would be compensated for the loss of land in these areas with lands to the south or east of the Reserve "on as nearly as possible an acre per acre basis." And the Bureau of Land Management would issue special use permits for activities in the outer 150 feet along the Reserve on the south side of the Alaska Highway only with the permission of the duly constituted representatives of the Reserve. These proposals, if implemented, "would solve most effectively all the problems of the Department with regard to the highway right-of-ways, would simplify surveys, and reduce materially the cost of running them."

Before any action could be taken on the proposals, the views of the Tetlin Indians were to be obtained. Warne thus requested the Commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs to present the proposals before the Tetlin Indians and obtain their comments on them. If the Indians agreed to the proposals, the Bureau of Land Management should determine the new boundaries as soon as possible and take the necessary steps to establish title for

the Alaska Highway and Tok Cut-off where they bordered the Reserve. 23/

On May 5, 1949, Warne signed the memorandum, which was revised only to take into account the Bureau of Indian Affairs' concerns. On April 5, William Zimmerman, Jr. wrote Warne to express agreement with the proposal to modify the boundaries of the Tetlin Reserve. He suggested several exceptions, however. First, the Tetlin Indians, should they agree to the department's proposals, should be given lands "on a comparable value basis and so far as possible on a per acre basis" in exchange for lands eliminated from the reserve. Second, the Bureau of Indian Affairs should present the "full facts" to the Indians without making a recommendation to them on the merits of the proposal. If, however, the Indians should want information about "the adequacy of the exchange," the Bureau was bound by duty to provide the information. Finally, the Indians and the Bureau of Indian Affairs should be permitted to construct feeder roads at places designated by and mutually agreeable to the Indian Service, the Bureau of Land Management, and the Alaska Road Commission. 24/

Upon learning of these discussions, the Alaska field offices of the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs took the position that Tok River should be established as the

western boundary of the Reserve. Writing to Marion Clawson, the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, on May 5, 1949, regional administrator Lowell Puckett stated that he had recently discussed with Don C. Foster the possibility of making Tok River the western boundary of the Reserve as it was easily definable and unchanging. This modification would leave only a small area near the southern end of the Reserve through which the Tok Cut-off passed where matters pertaining to settlement claims on the Reserve might cause complications. Although he had not discussed the matter with Foster, Puckett thought it possible to make the eastern boundary of the Tok Cut-off right-of-way the western boundary of the Reserve. 25/

Foster subsequently sent a copy of Puckett's memorandum of May 5 to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the comment that he had "no particular objection to the western boundary of the Tetlin Reservation being made at Tok River, for... there is no difficulty in defining this line and once established it would be easy to advise the general public that this was the line and that there would be no excuse for trespassing." As concerns the proposal on the Tok Cut-off right-of-way being made the western boundary of the Reserve, Foster was noncommittal, stating that a field investigation by a representative of his office would be required before he could

comment on the proposal. If the Commissioner so desired, Foster would present the matter to the Tetlin Council. 26/

In response Zimmerman sent a copy of Warne's and his memoranda of May 5, 1949, and requested Foster to present the proposed boundary changes to the Tetlin Indians. Foster and Kenneth J. Kadow, the Director of the Alaska Field Staff, together planned to go to Tetlin in the fall of 1949. Before their departure, however, they decided that the north boundary of the Reserve should not be modified, given the importance of the lands to Tetlin trappers as reported by James B. Strong in 1947. Kadow favored modifying the western boundary to follow either the Tok Cut-off or the Tok River; he understood that the lands that would be excluded by this boundary change had "no particular value to the livelihood of the Indians." Foster stated that his office had no particular objection to this proposed modification. 27/

By early 1950, largely through the efforts of Kadow, the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington and Alaska had reached a consensus in making Tok River the western boundary of the Tetlin Reserve. The proposed boundary was to begin at the mouth of Porcupine River, continue down the center of the Tanana River to the mouth of the Tok River, and thence up the center of Tok River to the

intersection of the Tok Cut-off right-of-way. Once all interested parties agreed to the proposed boundary change, an appropriate public land order modifying the boundary would be prepared. 28/ The Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska took minor exception to this boundary description with the view that the boundary line up Tok River might intersect the road right-of-way at some point other than at the bridge where the Tok Cut-off crossed Tok River, and provided language to take this possibility into account. 29/ The Bureau of Land Management accepted the clarified description. 30/

Evidently discussion between the Bureau of Land Management and Bureau of Indian Affairs regarding the boundary changes for Tetlin Reserve went no further than making Tok River as far as the bridge crossing the western boundary of the Reserve. No official action was taken to effect the change, however. As late as November 1951, Lowell Puckett was forced to write to the Director of the Bureau of Land Management for information on what should be done on the Tetlin Reserve boundary question. In addition, he called attention to the need to locate the boundary once it had been traced to Bear Creek, which originated in a small glacier south and west of Tetlin River. The Geological Survey's map of 1942 showed a wide gap between the sources of Kalutna River and Bear Creek, leaving Puckett to wonder whether the boundary should follow the Tetlin

River from the Bear Creek area "and then jump over to the headwaters of the Kalutna River." In any case, he noted, this portion of the boundary certainly needed to be clarified. 31/

For some unknown reason the Bureau of Land Management in Washington did not reply to Puckett's memorandum, although it did prepare a draft response for the Director's signature. Then reviewing the need to retain lands withdrawn by Public Land Order 386 in the Northway and Tanacross areas, a review that resulted in the restoration of the lands to the public domain, the Interior Department was also prepared to determine whether the Tetlin Reserve should be continued. According to the draft memorandum prepared in early June 1952, the Regional Administrator was to ascertain the extent to which the Reserve lands were being used in light of the purpose for which it was created. "Restoration of the withdrawal would be in order if it has not been used for that purpose," it read. Noting that documents in the General Land Office File 1380268 pertaining to the Reserve had been reviewed, the author wrote that "it appears from the case record that the withdrawal was proposed to protect the natives from acts of depredation by trappers, traders, prospectors, and others." Furthermore, "[i]t was intended that the natives would be taught the rudiments of fur farm management, and that where areas suitable for this purpose within the reserve area was determined, legislation would be

sought to provide for the interests of the natives and that the reservation could then be extinguished." 32/

The memorandum was never signed. Nearly two years later, William Zimmerman, Jr., sent File 1380268 to the Bureau's Land Planning Division and recommended the re-opening of discussions with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the matter of modifying the western boundary of the Reserve. He added, "At the time this memorandum was draft, I discussed it with the Indian Bureau, and reached the conclusion that we should take no action at that time which might possibly result in the elimination of the Tetlin Reservation." 33/

For the next few years, the Tetlin Reserve boundary question was discussed little in the Bureau of Land Management, then overwhelmed by a massive oil and gas leasing program and numerous settlement claims throughout Alaska. The influx of settlers into the Upper Tanana district, combined with the passage of the Alaska Statehood Act in 1958, ultimately forced the government bureaus to take a position on the boundary question, particularly the western boundary as settlers claimed land east of Tok River and south of the Alaska Highway. If the western boundary extended in a direct line from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the Eagle Trail crossing of Tok River, several of these land claims were located partly or wholly in the Reserve.

One of the first land claims in this area appears to have been made by John Hajdukovich. In 1948, Hajdukovich reportedly filed a claim with the U.S. Commissioner for a forty-acre trade and manufacturing site about eight hundred feet east of the Tok River bridge and just south of the Alaska Highway. It was not until 1954, however, that he filed the claim in the Fairbanks land office. The land office records indicated that the southeast corner of Hajdukovich's claim was intersected by the Reserve boundary. In March 1955 George R. Schmidt and George E. M. Gustafson of the Bureau of Land Management examined the land and found two frame cabins, a wanigan, and an old sawmill, which appeared to be inoperable. Visiting Hajdukovich in Big Delta, where he lived in Rika Wallen's house, they learned that Hajdukovich had not operated the sawmill for years, but planned to commence operations soon. Upon learning his plans, Schmidt concluded that Hajdukovich would use the bulk of the land. A year later, however, he again visited Hajdukovich in Big Delta, this time to question him on the possibility that the southeast corner of the claim was located in the Tetlin Reserve. According to Schmidt, Hajdukovich "stated that the boundary crosses the highway near the Little Tok River bridge...and that he has the privilege, granted by the Tetlin Indians, of establishing himself on the reservation." Schmidt also questioned Mrs. Rita Euer of Tok on the location of the boundary. She understood that the boundary

crossed the highway about two hundred yards northwest of the Little Tok River bridge. 34/

Intending to spend more time to prospecting the Jarvis Creek coal field, Hajdukovich relinquished the entire claim on August 3, 1959, but filed at the same time a claim for a five-acre headquarters site where his cabins and sawmill were located and, according to the land office records, outside the Tetlin Reserve. However, this claim was in conflict with a homestead claim filed by Marion E. Warbelow on February 18, 1958. Much of the land claimed by Warbelow appeared to be located in the Tetlin Reserve as well. Then, on August 15, 1959, Seward B. Harbison filed a claim under the homestead laws which was in conflict with both the Hajdukovich and Warbelow claims.

Frank B. Bruins of the Bureau of Land Management examined the Hajdukovich claim on October 21, 1959, and the Warbelow and Harbison claims on March 4, 1960. In the case of Hajdukovich's claim, Bruins found "no evidence that the land has been used in connection with any form of business or for any other purpose except the storage of a junk sawmill." 35/ In the case of Warbelow's claim, he found a neat, well-built cabin and a partially completed garage building. Noting that this claim

may be in conflict with the Tetlin Reserve, Bruins observed that the description of the Reserve boundary was "so vague that the extent, or existence, of this conflict cannot be verified by field examination." 36/ Other than Hajdukovich's "two deteriorated shacks," Bruins found no evidence that Harbison had physically appropriated the land. 37/

Both Hajdukovich and Harbison relinquished their claims on February 2, 1962 and May 1, 1964, respectively. Warbelow wanted to make further improvements on his land, but would not do so until he received assurances from the land office that the land was open to entry. In 1961, he appealed to the land office to allow or disallow his application. He wrote, "If an allowance cannot be made until some settlement is made on the Tetlin Indian Reserve we would appreciate you holding our application in some way so that we might hold our claim but make no further improvements until an allowance is made." Jesse H. Johnson, Chief of the Lands Adjudication Division in Fairbanks, replied. "We are without authority to suspend the life of your claim pending final determination of the boundaries of the Tetlin Indian Reservation and you must continue to perfect the claim at your own risk in accordance with the requirements of the homestead law in order to protect any rights you may have to the land." 38/ Under these circumstances, Warbelow decided not to take the risk.

Unknown to Warbelow, the Bureau of Land Management was at long last taking an official stand on the location of the western boundary of the Tetlin Reserve. In June 1957, L.T. Main, an operations supervisor who in 1949 attempted to determine the extent of conflict between the Tetlin and Midway Lake reserves, notified his supervisors that the Tetlin Reserve boundary question was again causing land status problems. Bureau of Land Management maps showed the western boundary of the Reserve running to a point near the upper Tok River bridge, while Geological Survey maps showed the boundary running to the Tanacross-Tetlin trail crossing of Tok River. "I am of the opinion that the Geological Survey is nearer correct," wrote Main. Given the conflicts between settlement claims and the Reserve in the lower Tok River valley and that a survey of the entire Reserve boundary was not likely to be executed in the near future, Main recommended that the Bureau execute a survey of the western boundary so as to eliminate the uncertainty of land status in that area. The survey, he suggested, might be executed along the lines portrayed on the Geological Survey's map. This was not the first time that Main had considered the boundary change. As he described it:

Many years ago I discussed this move with John Hajdukovich who claims to have furnished the language for this Executive Order. He said the Bureau status map was wrong

in that we presumed that the crossing of the Tok River was near a junction of the Tok and Little Tok Rivers. Hajdukovich says that the crossing is the old trail to Tetlin and is considerable north of where we have placed it on our status maps He convinced me that he knew what he was talking about.

Assuming Hajdukovich was correct, the boundary line would have to be shifted south. In this event, the land entry conflicts near the lower Tok River bridge and the Alaska Highway would be eliminated. Main thus recommended that the area cadastral engineer contact Hajdukovich with a view to correcting the status maps, and to modifying the Executive Order accordingly. 39/

Two years were to pass before the Bureau took action upon Main's recommendations. Following the passage of the Alaska Statehood Act, and as the new State prepared to make land selections, pressure mounted to settle the Tetlin Reserve boundary question. In September 1959, the area administrator notified the Fairbanks operations supervisor that Main's recommendation of 1957 to show the reserve on the Bureau's status maps as it was on Geological Survey maps. Perhaps, he thought, it might be possible to change the boundaries in connection with the State land selection program. 40/

Subsequently, the Fairbanks officials entered into discussions with representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the possibility of revising the boundary description so as to provide easier identification on the ground.

At this time the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Alaska was uncertain about the location of the western boundary. In 1955, responding to a request from the Geological Survey for a geographical description of the Reserve boundaries to be used in revising its topographic maps, Charles H. Jones, the Area Realty Officer in Juneau, simply quoted the Executive Order description but indicated that the Reserve encompassed about 768,000 acres of land. "The location of the boundaries of this reservation on the geological quadrangle maps of the Nabesna and Tanacross areas appears to be as accurate as it can be made from a description contained in the Executive Order," he wrote. 41/ Four years later, he informed Frank Hoffman of the Alaska Division of Highways in Anchorage, "The boundaries of this reservation are fairly well defined except for the exact location of the crossing of the old trail on the Tok River." 42/ Subsequently, Jones sent Geological Survey maps to the Tetlin Council to determine whether the boundaries were correctly depicted on the maps; he focused the Council's attention on the western boundary, noting that "the boundaries of the reservation appear to be correctly marked except for the

location of the crossing of the old trail on the Tok River which may be in error." When Jones did not receive a response from the Council, he sent another map, this time asking whether the location of Porcupine Creek was shown correctly on the map. It is presently unknown whether the Council ever responded. 43/

Details regarding the discussions between the Bureau of Land Management and the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the matter of modifying the Tetlin Reserve boundaries are not known. The general trend in the discussions was to make the Tok River the western boundary of the Reserve. In June 1961 Robert J. Coffman, a lands and minerals officer with the Bureau of Land Management in Fairbanks, requested from the Area Director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs a copy of the proposed boundary description and a report on the status of the proposal; he understood that it was to be submitted to the Washington office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for consideration and action. 44/ On June 21, Charles H. Jones complied with Coffman's request, sending him a copy of the proposed boundary description sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a day earlier. In the letter to the Commissioner, the Area Director called attention to the need to define the Reserve boundaries inasmuch as non-Natives had filed land entries with the Bureau

of Land Management in questionable areas near Tok River. The western boundary was especially in need of clarification for, as he put it, "no one knows today the location of the old trail on the Tok River." Therefore, he recommended the boundary description be modified as follows:

Beginning at the mouth of Porcupine Creek, flowing into the Tanana River from the north; thence south to the center of the Tanana River, thence westerly along the center of the Tanana River to the junction with the Tok River; thence southerly along the center of the Tok River to the creek which drains into the Tok River from the south. (confluence at approximately Longitude 143°15' West, Latitude 63°07' North); thence following that drainage through its most northerly tributary to the natural divide between Tetlin Lake and the Tok River; thence following the Tetlin Lake-little Tok Divide passing west of the headwaters of Tuck Creek and Tetlin River and east of the headwaters of Trail Creek, Buck Creek and Little Tok River to the boundary between the Third and Fourth Judicial Divisions; thence easterly a distance of 15 miles, more or less, along the boundary between the Third and Fourth Judicial Divisions, coinciding with the crest of the Mentasta Mountains and the southern limit of the Tetlin River Basin; thence following northeasterly along the divide between the

Tetlin River Basin and the Cheslina-Nabesna River Basin to the headwaters of the Kalutna River; thence following down Kalutna River to its confluence with the Tanana River; thence up the Tanana River to the mouth of a creek which drains into the Tanana River from the north (at approximately Longitude 142°15' W., Latitude 63°11' N.); thence following the center of the creek northerly to the natural divide between the Tanana and West Fork Ladue Rivers; thence along divide between Tanana and Porcupine Rivers, to the point of beginning.

If the proposal was approved and implemented, the Tetlin Indians would lose land along the Tok River. This loss, however, "would not adversely affect the rights and interests of the Native people" as the Bureau was informed that the Indians do not use the land west of the Tok River. In addition, the proposed change would finally settle all questions regarding the location of the western boundary and consequently "clarify land entries" on file with the Bureau of Land Management. 45/

In December 1961, the central office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs requested the Area Office to obtain the views of the Tetlin Indians on the matter of making Tok River the western boundary of the Reserve. If the Indians approved the

Modification, it would recommend a Public Land Order effecting the boundary change. Accordingly, on December 20, 1961 Charles H. Jones wrote to the Bureau's teacher at Tetlin, requesting her assistance in obtaining the Tetlin Indians' opinion on the proposed boundary change. He enclosed a map showing the current Reserve boundaries and the areas that would be added and eliminated from the Reserve if the boundary change was adopted. Finally, he noted that nobody knew where the old trail crossed the Tok River. (A copy of the letter and map was sent to Jimmy Joe, Chief of Tetlin.) Jones also informed the Bureau's Fairbanks office of the situation: "The Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Office has attempted during the past 11 years to determine the location of the crossing of the old trail on the Tok River but no one seems to know where it is. It is mainly for this reason that we are attempting to clarify the boundary of the reservation from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to where this old trail crosses the Tetlin River." 46/

When, in March 1962, the Fairbanks District Office of the Bureau of Land Management queried the Area Director on the status of the proposal, he replied that the Indians opposed the proposal, and that his office would have to make further investigations of the proposed boundary change. "A further attempt," he added, "will be made to establish the point where the old trail crosses the Tok River." If the trail crossing was located, there would be no need to modify the boundary

description. A representative of the realty branch was to be sent to Tetlin soon; he may make a trip in order to locate the old trail crossing. 47/ However, three months later, Charles H. Jones wrote to Charles P. Mathes, the Bureau's real property office at Anchorage, that it would not be necessary for him to go to Tetlin in an attempt to locate the old trail crossing, for "Mr. [Charles] Hall, my assistant, has informed me that the location of the old trail across the Tok River has been definitely determined." The Bureau of Land Management was proceeding to survey the western boundary, and would provide the survey plats to the Bureau once the work was completed. 48/

Pursuant to the request of the operations supervisor in Fairbanks on May 18, 1960 to initiate survey of State-selected lands in the Tok River valley, the Bureau of Land Management prepared in 1962 a detailed analysis of the Tetlin Reserve boundary question on the basis of the available records and discussions with John Hajdukovich at Big Delta. Completing the report sometime in 1962, D.M. Jones claimed that it was apparent that the entire perimeter of the Tetlin Reserve needed to be described in greater detail. Considering the western boundary, Jones noted that the only trail illustrated on the Geological Survey maps of 1922, 1942, and 1950 was the Eagle Trail. The most recent Geological Survey map of the area showed the western boundary of the Reserve as extending from

the mouth of Porcupine Creek in a straight line to the Eagle Trail crossing of Tok River. "We believe that this designation shown on U.S.G.S. maps is in error," wrote Jones. At Eagle Point, a steep bluff overlooking the Tanana Valley where the Eagle Trail swings northwesterly, there was another trail bearing easterly to cross Tok River and the Tetlin Hills to Tetlin village. While not shown on U.S. Geological Survey maps, the trail was "clearly discernable" on aerial photographs of the area taken in 1942, and may still be found today. Noting that the trail crossed Tok River in latitude 63°12' N., longitude 142°57' W., Jones claimed that "[a]ll basic evidence indicates this location is the point mentioned in the Executive Order." 49/

Following discussions with John Hajdukovich, who claimed involvement in the creation of the Reserve, Jones was certain that the old trail crossing referred to in the Executive Order was the Tetlin trail crossing. The Bureau had contacted Hajdukovich in April and learned that he could locate the trail crossing and possibly the boundary, as he did for the Army years ago when they cut timber in there. 50/ Jones summarized his discussions with Hajdukovich as follows:

Mr. Hajdukovich described the trail crossing as being located approximately three miles east of Eagle Point. He

stated that an old cabin was once located on the right limit of the Tok River at the point where the trail crossed and presumably the ruins of this cabin could still be found. Mr. Hajdukovich stated that he had prepared the original maps noting the boundaries of the reserve and believed that they were sent to the G.L.O. He submitted that the original description intended that the first course of the boundary was to have terminated at the crossing of the Tetlin Trail--not the Eagle Trail as has been commonly supposed in more recent years.

Given this information as well as the special instructions of 1941 and the Havell memorandum of 1941, Jones concluded, "There is no question, then, that the point mentioned [in the Executive Order] is located on the Tetlin Trail and not the Eagle Trail, and that all maps indicating otherwise are in error."

Jones considered the remaining boundaries, but limited himself to pointing out the ambiguities in their location. There was, for example, considerable question as to the course of the boundary from the Tetlin Trail crossing to the natural divide between the Tetlin and Tok Rivers drainages. There was too the question as to the location of the head of Bear Creek. Some maps identified Bear Creek as Tetlin River; some noted it as a

tributary of Tetlin River; and others interpreted it as another name for Tuck Creek. The boundary along the east bank of Kalutna River was also subject to interpretation. Some maps confused Kalukna River with the Kalutna River; and some provide different spellings for the same drainage feature. Most Geological Survey maps showed them as different streams, however. Finally, there were questions over the location of the boundary from the mouth of Kalutna River to the head of the tributaries of Ladue River inasmuch as there were several tributaries. Clearly, Jones concluded, the boundaries needed to be revised. 51/

In April 1962, Donald E. Harding, a cadastral engineer in Fairbanks, reported to Lyle F. Jones, Chief of the Division of Engineering in Juneau, that his office had discussed the matter of surveying the western boundary of the Tetlin Reserve with L.J. Kozlowski of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Joe Lawlor of the State Division of Lands. Once the Tetlin trail crossing was located and the western boundary surveyed, the Bureau would segregate and survey any valid rights along this portion of the highway and on the reservation side. Both Kozlowski and Lawlor agreed on the merits of the survey procedure. Kozlowski requested a letter proposing the boundary change as quickly as possible so as to submit it to the Tetlin Indian Council and his Washington Office for review. 52/

On May 10, 1962, Harding prepared special instructions for the survey of Group No. 115 of State land selections (36 townships). The survey was to be executed in accordance with the area administrator's memorandum of April 15, 1960.

53/ Special instructions for the survey of Group No. 116 were drafted on June 28, 1962 and approved on July 6, 1962. The survey was completed on June 16, 1964. According to the survey notes, John Hajdukovich "physically made and showed Donald E. Harding, Cadastral Survey Officer, and Ray Harpin, Cadastral Surveyor, of the Fairbanks Land District, the ground location of the [corner] as intended in Executive Order No. 5365 It is accepted as the best available evidence of the position as described in the withdrawal." The surveyor located the old trail crossing at latitude 63°12'14.66" N., longitude 143°01'29.92" W., with a bearing of N. 14 3/4° W. and S. 14 3/4° E. The crossing was 134 feet in length. 54/

Both Hajdukovich and Harding described the location of the Tatlin trail crossing. According to Hajdukovich, he left Big Delta on the morning of June 8, 1962 for Fort Greely where he took an airplane to Tanacross with Harding and a "Mr. C" of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Juneau. From Tanacross they traveled by helicopter to the "Tok crossing of the old Tatlin Trail and Located spot where the old cabin is the point of

South west Corner of Tetlin Reservation." The party returned to Tanacross for lunch and then proceeded to Big Delta, where Hajdukovich was taken home by "Walie" (probably Wally Fixson) in his pickup. Nearly twenty years later Harding described the events of June 8, 1962 in much the manner as Hajdukovich in 1962; he identified "Mr. C" as being Charles A. Hall of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 55/

Shortly after learning of the location of the Tetlin trail crossing, in August 1962, Gerald G. Wright, a supervisory field examiner, informed the Fairbanks Land Office that their records improperly showed the western boundary of the reserve, and enclosed a map showing what was believed to be the proper location of the boundary. He wrote, "Discussion of the interpretation of the description of the boundary with the Cadastral Engineering Office, representatives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Mr. John Hajdukovich, and the Supervisory Field Examiner indicates that the delineation of the boundary as shown on the U.S.G.S. map is in error." 56/ Accordingly, on September 14, 1962, the land office notified Marion E. Warbelow that his claim was not in conflict with the Tetlin Reserve. As his claim was due to expire on February 21, 1963 by statute, the land office requested final proof and a homestead entry application as well as the required fees prior to that date. Warbelow did not file the necessary documents, and so his case was closed. 57/

The Bureau of Indian Affairs did not object to the results of the western boundary survey. Following a meeting with Donald E. Harding, Charles H. Jones wrote him requesting a copy of the survey plat. Harding subsequently sent him an approved copy of the U.S. Survey 2050 plat. When in April 1964 the Geological Survey in Denver requested information on the Reserve boundaries for use in updating its maps, Jones referred the agency to the Fairbanks land office with the explanation that such information was not available through his office. 58/

The Bureau, however, continued to assert its interpretation of the location of the eastern boundary in the Midway Lake area, for it was then involved in plans with the Tetlin Indians to develop a tourist and recreation facility on the lake. Upon learning of State land selections in the area, Donald J. Joe, president of the Tetlin Council, contacted the Bureau of Indian Affairs. O.L. Williamson, a realty specialist, informed Joe that his office had contact the Bureau of Land Management, and as a result believed that the lands on the northeast end of Midway Lake were within the Reserve. His office filed a protest over the State land selection; no further action was necessary until the eastern boundary was surveyed. Finally, he noted that the Bureau of Land Management surveyed the western boundary, "and it was found that the old line shown by U.S.G.S. was not accurate. That survey has not been officially filed as

of this date, but it appears as though we will have no grounds to protest it due to the fact that they only established the lines of the original survey." 59/ Subsequently, in January 1965 Charles A. Hall, the Bureau's Area Realty Officer, wrote to Harding requesting the field notes and plats for the eastern and western boundary surveys. Calling attention to "our joint field trip to Tanacross on June 8, 1962" during which "the westerly boundary of the Tetlin Reserve (from the mouth of Porcupine Creek to the old Eagle Trail crossing on the Little Tok River) was definitely established." Hall requested a copy of Hajdukovich's deposition if one was taken. This request was in vain. The Bureau of Land Management never obtained Hajdukovich's deposition. 60/

Confident with its interpretation of the location of the eastern and western boundary crossings of the Alaska Highway, the Bureau of Indian Affairs advised the Tetlin Indians to erect signs on the highway where the boundaries crossed as interpreted by the Bureau of Land Management and shown on current Geological Survey maps. This advice was in contradiction to past policy in that the Bureau left it to the Tetlin Indians' discretion to place the signs where they believed the boundaries crossed the highway. Evidently neither the Bureau of Indian Affairs nor the Bureau of Land Management ever investigated the claims of the Indians on the location of the boundaries.

The Tetlin Indians long maintained that the western boundary extended to the Eagle Trail crossing of the Tok River. Chief Andrew Isaac recalled in 1983 that he attended a meeting of Upper Tanana Indian Chiefs, including Chief Peter Joe, at Tanana Crossing in 1932. During the meeting Chief Peter signed a map presented by Hajdukovich which portrayed the western boundary extending through the area of present-day Tok Junction to the Little Tok River. 61/ Fifteen years later the Tetlin Indians placed a sign on the Alaska Highway several miles west of the lower Tok River bridge apparently with the understanding that the boundary extended to the Little Tok.

The 1932 map may have been the same one mentioned by Everett T. Wilde, the Government schoolteacher at Tetlin, in 1950. At the time the Tetlin Indians were attempting to initiate a beaver conservation program and to prevent non-Natives and the Northway Indians from trapping in the Reserve. In response to a letter from the Northway teacher, Percy D. Pringle, regarding the location of the eastern boundary, Wilde wrote that the Tetlin Council held a meeting on the night of February 9, 1950 to discuss the matter. He described the Council's decision as follows:

We consulted a transcript of a Topographic Reconnaissance Map (1922) which shows the boundries [sic] of the Reserve

and compared this map with a stapled Photo Mosaic of the Tanacross A-3 Quadrangles which I received from one of the fellows of the Geological Survey team last summer. The maps coincide as to the location of topographic characteristics in comparison with lines of longitude and latitude. The outline map of the Tetlin Native Reserve shows that the Reserve begins at the summit of the Midway Hills at a point about 142°10' Long. by 63°07" [sic] Lat. and extends SSW to a point where the Katukna River (also known as Old Store Creek) enters the Tanana River and then follows the course of the Katukna River to the point of its source in the Mentasta Mountains, in a southerly direction from the Tanana River. Crooked Lake, on the Northway Trail, appears to be about two miles west of the Katukna River and therefore well within the limits of the Tetlin Native Reserve.

Claiming that the Tetlin Council's proposed conservation program would be impossible to effect if trespassers were permitted to trap in the Reserve, Wilde related the Council's objections to one Northway Indian's practice of inviting other persons to trap in the Crooked Lake area. 62/

Wilde sent a copy of the letter to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At the time the Bureau was having boundary signs

prepared in accordance with the Tetlin Council's request. In May 1949, Wilde wrote the General Superintendent that during a village meeting the Indians asked him to request at least twenty-five signs stating that hunting, fishing, and trapping was not permitted in the Reserve. Pointing out that the Alaska Highway extended through the Reserve for more than twenty miles and the Taylor Highway for about a mile, Wilde stated that the boundary crossings of the Alaska Highway were marked with small inadequate signs. The Taylor Highway was not marked at all.

63/

Nearly thirty years later, Wilde recalled that the Bureau sent four signs to Tetlin. During the summer of 1950 he with the assistance of several Tetlin Indians placed the signs on the Alaska Highway, Taylor Highway, and Tok Cut-off. One sign was placed on the Alaska Highway near the Riverside Roadhouse and another just east of the lower Tok River bridge. The Tok Cut-off sign was located in the southern portion of Section 26, Township 17 North, Range 12 East, Copper River Meridian, or where the former Eagle Trail swings northwesterly to Tanana Crossing. 64/ Wilde recalled that a sign was not placed on the Tok Cut-off near the old Eagle Trail crossing. However, at least one Tetlin Indian remembered that a sign or post was placed there at the time. 65/ In any case, Wilde stated that the signs were still in place when he left the area in 1952.

66/

Apparently the signs were later torn down, for in the mid-1960s the Bureau of Indian Affairs responded to complaints from the Tetlin Indians about non-Native trappers in the Reserve by recommending the erection of signs on the highway. On February 18, 1966, O.L. Williamson wrote to Charlie David, Sr. of Tetlin that the signs were being prepared and should be posted as soon as possible "at the corner of your reservation and at the other places shown by red X marks on the enclosed maps." 67/ The signs were eventually sent to Tetlin. Not long after the signs were sent, the Bureau received in May 1966 a request from Smitty Gene for maps of the Tetlin Reserve. Shortly thereafter, in June, Charlie David, Sr. reported that two signs were put up but someone tore them down. Williamson promised to replace the two missing signs. 68/

In an effort to prevent removal of the signs, Williamson in the winter of 1966-67 arranged for the State Department of Highways to place and maintain the signs. In January 1967 he sent Bruce Robinson of the Highway Department a map showing the Reserve boundaries and asked that the signs be erected at the proper locations. As he noted in a letter to an agent of the Alaska State Community Action Program, the signs were to be "placed on the boundaries [sic] which were surveyed in 1964 by the Bureau of Land Management and reflected on the current U.S.G.S. maps."

The Highway Department erected the green signs at State expense during the summer of 1967. 69/

Finally, Williamson sought the assistance of the Alaska Department of Fish and Game in controlling non-Native hunting, fishing and trapping in the Reserve. In anticipation that the Tetlin Council's resolution of April 17, 1867 to set fees and terms for such activities in the Reserve would be approved, he requested the Game Department to note in its informational brochures that public hunting, fishing, and trapping activities in the Reserve required the Tetlin Council's permission, and to show the Tetlin Reserve boundaries on its maps. 70/

Until the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in 1971, the location of the Tetlin Reserve boundaries came under question only occasionally. In 1970, as the Bureau of Land Management processed a State selection application for a community grant in the Midway Lake area, acting chief adjudicator J.A. Hagans notified the Fairbanks District Office that the Bureau's status diagrams showing the Reserve boundaries did not agree with the Geological Survey maps in Township 17 North, Ranges 16 and 17 East, Copper River Meridian. On the Geological Survey map, the Reserve boundary did not cross any portion of Midway Lake, nor did it come within several miles of VABM 'Bitters'. Yet the Executive

Order provided that the boundary run along the east bank of the Kalutna River to its mouth, and thence in a northeasterly direction to the head of the tributaries of Ladue River. As the river in Township 16 North, Range 16 East was in fact the Kalutna River, and not the Kalukna River as the label would indicate, and since the bearing from the mouth of the Kalutna River was northeasterly rather than northeast, the Geological Survey having illustrated the boundary line along the Tanana River a short distance before skirting Midway Lake about one-eighth of a mile east of its most western meanders, Hagans requested an explanation as to why the boundary on the status diagrams departed from that on the Geological Survey map. If the Geological Survey interpretation was accepted, there would apparently be over 160 acres of land outside Tetlin Reserve in Township 17 North, Range 17 East in the community grant selection application. 71/

At the same time, questions over the location of the west boundary were again raised. The Area Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs had two different locations for this boundary on Geological Survey maps and was confused as to which one was correct. If the larger designation was correct, then the State's plans to open lands along the Little Tok River near Clearwater Creek might result in trespass proceedings. 72/ However, Bill Mattice, a realty officer in Fairbanks, did not

find a potential problem, the maps of the Bureau of Land Management, the Geological Survey and the State Division of Lands showing the same location for the boundary. 73/ Murrey O. Campbell in the Area Office was not satisfied. He recalled that when in the summer of 1968 the Bureau of Land Management, the State, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs cooperated on aerial photographic contract for the Tetlin Reserve, there was "one small point of misunderstanding [over the location of the boundary, which involved] only 50 or 60 thousand acres," but the misunderstanding was resolved when "they found some elderly man who showed them the old trail crossing." According to Campbell, the Bureau of Land Management established a portion of the west line by helicopter protraction in 1967 and 1968. 74/ Mattice replied that he did not know whether or not the surveyed line was correct. Noting that it was John Hajdukovich who showed the trail crossing to the Bureau of Land Management, Mattice wrote, ". . . from what I know of old John Hajdukovich [sic], deceased, and what I've heard from the Natives of the area, I wouldn't doubt what he said of the area." If Campbell wanted to solve potential problems, Mattice asked him to focus his attention on the south boundary: "maybe you can tell me how to reconcile difference between going to the head of Bear Creek and taking in the entire Tetlin River drainage. 75/

This was to be one of the boundary problems confronted by the Tetlin Native Corporation. Before the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of December 18, 1971, the Tetlin Council had already decided to seek title to all land within the Tetlin Reserve, as well as mineral rights; it opposed any settlement in terms of money. On May 9, 1972, in accordance with Sec. 19(b) of the Act, the village held an election on the question whether they should acquire title to the lands. The village voted unanimously in favor. However, the election was premature, as a formal village corporation had not yet been organized. This technicality was quickly overcome, and on September 14, 1973, the village corporation was certified by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. 76/

On January 2, 1974, Ray Demit, president of the Tetlin Native Corporation, submitted a resolution of the board dated January 10, to the Doyon, Ltd., a regional corporation requesting that corporation's assistance in preparing a definitive land description of Tetlin Reserve for submission to the Bureau of Land Management. Doyon agreed. 77/

In May 1974, Dee Lane of Doyon, Ltd., completed "a preliminary analysis" of the former Tetlin Reserve boundaries, and identified three potential problems with the boundary as shown on official maps. The western boundary of the reserve was once

again raised as an issue. According to Lane, the boundary should have been extended to the Eagle Trail crossing of Tok River, as it had once been shown on early maps. "If the old trail crossing had been left as on the old maps," she argued, "this part of the boundary description would make good sense." By this she meant that the boundary could be related more to natural features in the area. From the Eagle Trail crossing, the boundary would run southeast, "then along the ridge to the summit of the mountain having an elevation of 5,330 feet (Sec. 25, T. 15 N., R. 11 E., CRM) to the summit of the mountain shown with triangulation station, "Meikle", at elevation 5,975 and in Sec. 7, T. 14 N., R. 2 E., CRM, then joining the boundary shown on the map at the summit of a mountain with an elevation of 5,646 feet, Sec. 11, T. 14 N., R. 12 E., CRM." The official boundary from the Tetlin trail crossing to the point of the natural divide between the Tok and Tetlin drainages was more difficult to locate. Observing that the official boundary crossed the Eagle Trail in T. 16 N., R. 13 E., CRM, Lane declared, "Surely it was not intended that a portion of the Eagle Trail be excluded from the Tetlin Reserve."

Lane had little difficulty in accepting the southern boundary of the Reserve. She accepted the Geological Survey's interpretation that Bear Creek was in fact Tetlin River, and

the course of the official boundary from the point on the summit of the mountain at elevation 5,646 in Sec. 11, T. 14 N., R. 12 E., CRM southerly and easterly as it looped around the tributaries of Tetlin River to the point at the toe of the mountain in Sec. 8, T. 11 N., R. 17 E., CRM. Although she considered the boundary from this point to the source of Kalutna River to be rather indefinite, she wrote that it seemed "fairly reasonable." She also considered the boundary along the east bank of the Kalutna River as apparently correct.

The official boundary from the mouth of the Kalutna River to triangulation station "Bitters" at elevation point 3246 in Sec. 21, T. 17 N., R. 17 E., CRM, was, in Lane's view, "a reasonably liberal interpretation." However, she noted that the line could also have been swung to the elevation point 2815 in Sec. 33, T. 17 N., R. 17 E., CRM, as it too was located at the head of the tributaries of Ladue Creek. Noting too that earlier maps showed the boundary dividing Midway Lake in half and that there was a great deal of confusion concerning the Midway Lake portion of the boundary, Lane recommended further study on this portion of the boundary.

Finally, Lane pointed out that the Executive Order did not "define how close to the West Fork of the Ladue River the line would swing, nor how close to Porcupine Creek the boundary

would fall." In her view, the boundary line should have run further north to include the small horseshoe-shaped lake lying between the Taylor Highway and the West Fork of Ladue River in Secs. 8 and 8, T. 18 N., R. 15 E., CRM, and perhaps two or three miles more of the Taylor Highway.

All in all, Lane concluded that the Tetlin Native Corporation stood to gain a total of about 74,000 acres if her interpretation of the Executive Order was accepted. Believing that the corporation had a case to argue, Lane recommended the collection of additional information about the reserve, and with the support of such institutions as the Joint Federal-State Land Use Planning Commission, the Alaska Federation of Natives, and the Association of American Geographers, submit a formal claim to the Interior Department. 78/

Given the results of Lane's analysis, the Tetlin Native Corporation asserted its rights in the disputed areas. In 1975, the Coast Guard, planning to construct a navigational aid facility (LORAN-C) near Tok, located partly in Secs. 18 and 19, T. 18 N., R. 14 E., CRM, requested the Bureau of Land Management to provide a description of the true and established west boundary of Tetlin Reserve. The Coast Guard had been informed by an agent of Doyon, Ltd., that about twenty acres of land chosen for the facility were claimed by Tetlin Native Corporation. 79/

Again, in 1976, when the State Department of Natural Resources proposed a timber sale in the area, the Tetlin Native Corporation protested with the argument that the sale involved lands claimed by it. Donald J. Joe wrote that the Bureau of Land Management misinterpreted the reference in the Executive Order to the old trail crossing as the "Seventeen Mile Trail" when in fact "the crossing of the old trail on the Tok River has been historically the old 'Eagle Trail' which crosses the Tok River near 'Tetlin Hills'." 80/ In one of the statements submitted by Joe to support his argument, Titus David wrote:

There used to be an old map of reservation show boundary line to head of Porcupine then come down Porkcupine to mouth of Porkcupine then down to Tanana River to mouth of Tok River to Tetlin Hill. From Tetlin Hill it goes up to Mountain Range. It follows divide. It hits Kalutna River to the mouth. From there it goes to the head of Ladue Creek. It crosses the road at mile post 1282 Then follow divide to head of Porkcupine. I used to help put sign long time ago. Fred Dimler used to be government representative with us. Put up sign where boundary cross trail. Where it crosses new road after they build road and people destroy sign. 81/

In a separate statement, Alfred John wrote that there used to be a boundary sign on a hillside about ten miles up the Kalutna River from its mouth which pointed to an old summer trail coming out on the Alaska Highway at mile post 1282. The trail was still visible as a caterpillar was once taken over it. He added, "The people have used the trail way down toward Ladue Creek and toward Horse Shoe shape lake and on to Porcupine Creek and to Tanana River and down toward mouth of Tok River. And up the Tok River." 82/ Fred Demit simple wrote, "When BLM put line in they didn't follow original line like Executive Order No. 5365." 83/

Pursuant to Sec. 19(b) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, the Bureau of Land Management issued amended special instructions for U.S. Survey No. 2547 on February 10, 1975. Approved on March 11, 1975, the amended instructions provided for the southern, eastern, and northern boundaries of the former reserve from a point between Secs. 13 and 18 on the east boundary of T. 14 N., R. 12 E., CRM, to another point between Secs. 31 and 36 on the east boundary of T. 18 N., R. 15 E., CRM. The southeastern boundary was located in a straight line from the mouth of the Kalutna River northeasterly to the highest point on the mountain shown as having an elevation of 3,426 feet and on the divide between the headwaters of Ladue River and the Tanana River drainage. 84/ Five years later, on

September 24 and 30, 1980, the Bureau issued two decisions in conveying lands to the Tetlin Native Corporation. Frederick H. Boness, an attorney retained by the corporation, subsequently filed an appeal before the Alaska Native Claims Appeal Board, claiming that the Bureau of Land Management incorrectly excluded four separate parcels of lands from the conveyance. The appeal is presently before the Interior Board of Land Appeals.

Footnotes

1. Ole Fredricksen to Gov. George A. Parks, 12 January 1931, Gov. to Ole Fredricksen, 11 February 1931. General Correspondence of the Alaskan Territorial Governors, National Archives Microfilm Publication M939, Roll 177, frames 576-79 (hereafter referred to as Governors' Papers).
2. Ole Fredricksen to Geo. A. Parks, 17 July 1931, Gov. to Ole Fredricksen, 29 July 1931, Governor's Papers, Roll 194, frames 603-04.
3. Claude M. Hirst to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 26 April 1940, Donald W. Hagerty to Native Village of Tetlin, 7 May 1940, File 1101.01, Admin. Trust Files, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Juneau (hereafter referred to as File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau).
4. Joel Daird Wolfsohn to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1 November 1940, File 307.3 Reserves and Reservations Misc. #1, FRC 62767, Juneau Area Office, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group (RG) 75, Federal Records Center (FRC), Seattle, Washington.

5. George A. Parks, Special Instructions, U.S. Survey No. 2547, Tetling Reserve, 1 November 1940, Part 3, and George A. Parks, Special Instructions, U.S. Survey No. 2547, Tetling Reserve, 21 July 1941, Part 2, File F-20518, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Alaska State Office, Anchorage (hereafter cited as File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage).
6. Hagerty to Mr. Geeslin, no date (October or November 1940), File 307.3, Reserves and Reservations Misc. #1, FRC Box 62767, RG 75, FRC; Daniel Ross to Register, 2 January 1941, File F-20518, Part 2, BLM Records, Anchorage.
7. Thomas A. Havell to George A. Parks, 16 August 1941, File F-20518, Part 2, BLM Records, Anchorage. Copy in File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
8. Fred R. Geeslin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 18 April 1947, Ike P. Taylor to Don C. Foster, 1 October 1946, Selwyn P. Nock to Don C. Foster, 18 November 1946, Don C. Foster to Selwyn P. Nock, 5 December 1946, Don C. Foster to Ike P. Taylor, 14 March 1947, Walter V. Woehlke to Don C. Foster, 26 February 1947, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

9. James R. Strong to Mr. Foster, 31 March 1947.
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
10. James R. Strong to Don C. Foster, 23 October 1947.
W.A. Brunskill to Don C. Foster, 21 October 1947.
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
11. Strong to Foster, 23 October 1947, BIA Records, Juneau.
12. Don C. Foster to William Zimmerman, Jr., 30 September 1947, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau. Copy in File 307.3 Northway #1, FRC 62766, RG 75, FRC.
13. Fred J. Weiler to Harold T. Jorgenson, 25 May 1948,
File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
14. D. Foley to Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 18 August 1948, E.R. Fryer to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 24 August 1948, File 22052, Central Classified Files (CCF), 1907-56, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, National Archives (NA); Harold T. Jorgenson to Fred J. Weiler, 7 June 1948, 7 September 1948, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

15. Fred J. Weiler to Harold T. Jorgenson, 10 November 1948, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
16. John H. Provinse to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 15 October 1948, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.
17. Director, Bureau of Land Management, to Regional Administrator, 27 October 1948, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
18. Roger R. Robinson to Lowell M. Puckett, 12 November 1948, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
19. Harold T. Jorgenson to Lowell M. Puckett, 23 November 1948, George E.M. Gustafson to Harold T. Jorgenson, 15 November 1948, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
20. Don C. Foster to William Zimmerman, Jr., 6 July 1948, William Zimmerman, Jr., to Don C. Foster, 20 July 1948, to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 20 July 1948, File 22052, CCF, RG 75, NA. Copy of Zimmerman's to Director memo also in File 1380268, Records of the Bureau of Land Management, RG 49, NA and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

21. Leonard T. Berlin to Lowell M. Puckett, 24 November 1948, File 20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
22. Marion Clawson to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 24 December 1948, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
23. Assistant Secretary Warne to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Directors, Bureau of Land Management, Division of Territories and Island Positions [sic]. Alaska Field Staff, National Park Service, 16 March 1949, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage; Robert K. Coote, "Memorandum for the Record," 8 March 1949, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
24. William Zimmerman to Warne, 5 April 1949, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage; William E. Warne to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, and Directors, Bureau of Land Management, Division of Territories, Alaska Field Staff, National Park Service, 5 May 1949, File 1380268, RG 49, NA and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; William E. Warne to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, n.d. [5 May 1949?], File 1380268, RG 49, NA. See also William Zimmerman, Jr., to Don C. Foster, 31 May 1949, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

25. Lowell Puckett to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 5 May 1949, File 20518, BLM Records, Anchorage and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

26. Don C. Foster to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 19 May 1949, File 20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.

27. William Zimmerman, Jr., to Don C. Foster, 13 May 1949, Brust to Mr. Foster, 1 June 1949, Foster note, 9 June 1949, Don C. Foster to Mr. Zimmerman, 7 June 1949, James S. Strong to Mr. Foster, 2 August 1949, Reinhold Brust to Mr. Foster, 1 February 1950, Kenneth J. Kadow to Don C. Foster, 8 February 1950, Don C. Foster to Kenneth J. Kadow, 3 March 1950, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

28. Robert K. Coote to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 22 March 1950, William H. Richards to Robert K. Coote, 3 April 1950, Kenneth J. Kadow to Robert K. Coote, 12 April 1950, Robert K. Coote to Kenneth J. Kadow, 14 April 1950, File 1380268, RG 49, NA; Marion Clawson to Director, Alaska Field Staff, 13 April 1950, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau;

Kenneth J. Kadow to Lowell M. Puckett, 9 March 1950,
File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

29. Don C. Foster to Kenneth Kadow, 10 May 1950, Reinhold Brust to Kenneth J. Kadow, 20 June 1950, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; Charles H. Jones to Don C. Foster, 1 May 1950, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
30. Lowell M. Puckett to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 5 July 1950, William Zimmerman, Jr. to Regional Administrator, 27 July 1950, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage. William H. Richards agreed to Foster's recommended change of 10 May; see William H. Richards to Mr. Coote, 20 July 1950, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
31. Lowell Puckett to Director, Bureau of Land Management, 9 November 1951, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
32. Director to Regional Administrator, no date (c. 11 June 1952), File 1380268, RG 49, NA.
33. William Zimmerman, Jr. to Mr. Kifer, 30 March 1954, File 1380268, RG 49, NA.

34. George R. Schmidt to Lands, Minerals and Range operations officer, 2 April 1956, File 012020. Box 295, RG 49, FRC; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 611, 613, 616-17. Schmidt stated in 1983 that JH claimed to have been instrumental in the establishment of the Reserve, but that he then took JH's claim "with a grain of salt."

35. F.B. Bruins, Land Examination Report, 19 November 1959, File F-023740, RG 49, FRC.

36. Frank B. Bruins, Land Examination Report, 4 March 1960, File F-018448, Box 302, RG 49, FRC.

37. F.B. Bruins, Land Examination Report, 4 March 1960, File F-023796, RG 49, FRC.

38. Marvin E. Warbelow to Bureau of Land Management, 12 January 1961, Jesse H. Johnson to Marvin E. Warbelow, 9 February 1961, File F-018448, RG 49, FRC.

39. L.T. Main to Area Administrator, Juneau, 28 June 1957, File F-20518, BLM Records, Anchorage.

40. M.O. Allen to Fairbanks Operations Supervisor.
21 September 1959, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage. In the same year someone wrote the following on C.C. Moore's memorandum of 7 January 1931 to the Register and Receiver of the Fairbanks Land Office: "Approx 576 sq. mi CAP 16-Feb-59," in same file.
41. R.K. Kraun (?) to Area Office, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 25 July 1955, Charles H. Jones to R.E. Isto, 28 July 1955, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
42. Charles H. Jones to Frank Hoffman, 13 November 1959, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
43. Charles H. Jones to Smitty Gene, 13 November 1959, 29 December 1959, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
44. Robert J. Coffman to Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 13 June 1961, File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage, and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
45. Area Director to Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 20 June 1961, Charles H. Jones to Richard L.

Quintus, 21 June 1961. File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.

46. Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs to James E. Hawkins, 15 December 1961. File 1101.01, BIA Records; Charles H. Jones to Mrs. Marjorie E. Sinclair, 20 December 1960. James E. Hawkins to Area Field Representative, 29 December 1961. File 1101.01 and File 060 Tetlin, 3/1/30-11/6/68. BIA Records, Fairbanks.
47. Gerald Wright to Area Director, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 7 March 1962. Robert L. Bennett to Gerald G. Wright, 19 March 1962. File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage and File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau. Charles H. Jones wrote the March 19th memorandum.
48. Charles H. Jones to Charles P. Mathes, 13 June 1962. File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.
49. D.M. Jones original draft report, n.d. [1962]. File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.

50. Wally Fixson to Donald Harding, 25 April 1962. File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage. The same file also contains a typed copy of Executive Order 5365 received by the BLM Fairbanks Office on 10 May 1961. The following appears in pencil at the bottom of the document: "This copy provided by a letter from Mr. John Hajdukovich, Big Delta dated May 9, 1961. Corrigal 5/17/61." Hajdukovich's letter is not in the file.
51. D.M. Jones original draft report, n.d. [1962]. File F-20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 842-46, 863-64.
52. Donald Harding to Lyle F. Jones, 27 April 1962. File F-20518, Part 2, BLM Records, Anchorage.
53. Donald E. Harding, Special Instructions, Group No. 115, Alaska, State of Alaska Selection, Tok Area, 10 May 1962. File F-20518, Part 2, BLM Records, Anchorage.
54. BLM Field Notes of the Survey of the Boundary of Lands Described Under Executive Order No. 5365 Through Township 16 North, Range 13 East.

55. JH notes of 8 June 1962 in small notebook, JH Papers, University of Alaska, Fairbanks; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 877-79, 904, 906-08.

56. Gerald G. Wright to Manager, Fairbanks Land Office, 16(?) August 1962, File F-20518, Part 2, BLM Records, Anchorage.

57. Robert F. Hilton to Marvin E. Warbelow, 14 September 1962, File F-018448, Box 302, RG 49, FRC.

58. Charles H. Jones to Donald E. Harding, 17 September 1963, Donald E. Harding to Charles H. Jones, 16 March 1964, Thomas V. Cummins to Bureau of Indian Affairs, 10 April 1964, Charles H. Jones to Thomas V. Cummins, 17 April 1964, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

59. Donald T. Joe to Area Field Representative, 26 June 1964, O.L. Williamson to Donald J. Joe, 30 June 1964, File 060, Village Files, Realty, Tetlin, 3/1/30-11/6/68, BIA Records, Fairbanks (hereafter referred to as File 060, BIA Records, Fairbanks). See also Tundra Times clipping, 6 July 1964, Charles H. Jones to Area Field Representative, 20 July 1964, Murrey O. Campbell to Area Realty Officer, 24 July 1964, Charles A. Hall

to Area Field Representative, 29 July 1964, in same file.

60. Charles A. Hall to Donald Harding, 6 January 1965, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; Transcript of Proceedings, p. 910.
61. Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 73-74, 76-78, 85.
62. Everett J. Wilde to Percy D. Pringle, 10 February 1950, File 920.2 Trapping (Tetlin, Tanacross, Northway), Juneau Area Office, FRC 1603, RG 75, FRC; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 750, 757-59, 761, 762-63, 765.
63. Everett J. Wilde to General Superintendent, 3 May 1949, Don C. Foster to Everett J. Wilde, 31 August 1949, File 997.4, Tetlin Native Store, Juneau Area Office, FRC 1606, RG 75, FRC; Transcript of Proceedings, pp. 753, 769.
64. Ibid., pp. 745-48.
65. Ibid., p. 210.

66. Ibid., p. 750.

67. O.L. Williamson to Charlie David, Sr., File 060, BIA Records, Fairbanks. See also Charlie David, Sr. to Area Director, 4 February 1966, Murray O. Campbell to Area Field Representative, 11 February 1966, Charlie David, Sr. to O.L. Williamson, 14 February 1966, Realty Officer to "HD," 18 February 1966, in same file.

68. Owen D. Morken to Smitty S. Gene, 25 May 1966, File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau; Charlie David to O.L. Williamson, 2 June 1966, O.L. Williamson to Charlie David, 10 June 1966, File 060, BIA Records, Fairbanks.

69. O.L. Williamson to Bruce Robinson, 27 January 1967, to Francis Brooks, 29 June 1967, File 060, BIA Records, Fairbanks.

70. O.L. Williamson to Walter Kirkness, 3 July 1967, File 060, BIA Records, Fairbanks. See also O'Dean L. Williamson to Herman Gene, 4 April 1967, Minutes of Meetings, 14 April 1967, Resolution 67-1, 17 April 1967, Wallace O. Craig to Area Director, 20 April 1967, Robert L. Bennett to Bentley Mark, 18 March 1968, in same file.

71. J.A. Hagans to DM-F (220) [District Manager-Fairbanks], 10 December 1970, File 20518, Part 3, BLM Records, Anchorage.
72. Murrey O. Campbell to Superintendent, Fairbanks Agency, 24 July 1970.
73. Bill Mattice to Assistant Area Realty Office, 29 July 1970.
74. Murrey O. Campbell to Superintendent, Fairbanks Agency, 3 August 1970.
75. Bill Mattice to Assistant Area Realty Office, 12 August 1970.
76. Morris Thompson to Fred Demit, 5 April 1971, Assistant Secretary of the Interior to Senator Gravel, 10 April 1971[?], Lloyd McClintock to Manager, Fairbanks District and Land Office, 18 May 1972, Jens C. Jensen to Superintendent, Fairbanks Agency, 30 May 1972, Acting Area Director to Chief Donald Joe, 9 June 1972, Certificate of Eligibility, ANCSA, Tetlin, 14 September 1973. See also Morris Thompson to

Commissioner, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 6 April 1971.

File 1101.01, BIA Records, Juneau.

77. John O. Sackett to Ray Demit, 16 January 1974.
78. Dee Lane, "Telephone Report to the Tetlin Native Corporation Taped by Ted Charles," 10 May 1974.
79. O.E. Williams, Jr., to Matthew J. Ogg, 10 January 1975, Irving Zirpel, Jr. to O.E. Williams, Jr., 3 February 1975, File F-20518, Part 1, BLM Records, Anchorage.
80. Donald J. Joe to William H. Copeland, 30 November 1976, File F-20518, Part 1, BLM Records, Anchorage.
81. Statement of Titus David, 30 November 1976, File F-20518, Part 1, BLM Records, Anchorage.
82. Statement of Alfred John, n.d., File F-20518, Part 1, BLM Records, Anchorage.
83. Statement of Fred Demit, n.d., File F-20518, Part 1, BLM Records, Anchorage.

84. Robert L. Pickering, Amended Special Instructions,
U.S. Survey No. 2547, Alaska, 10 February 1975.